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1998 Primary Election



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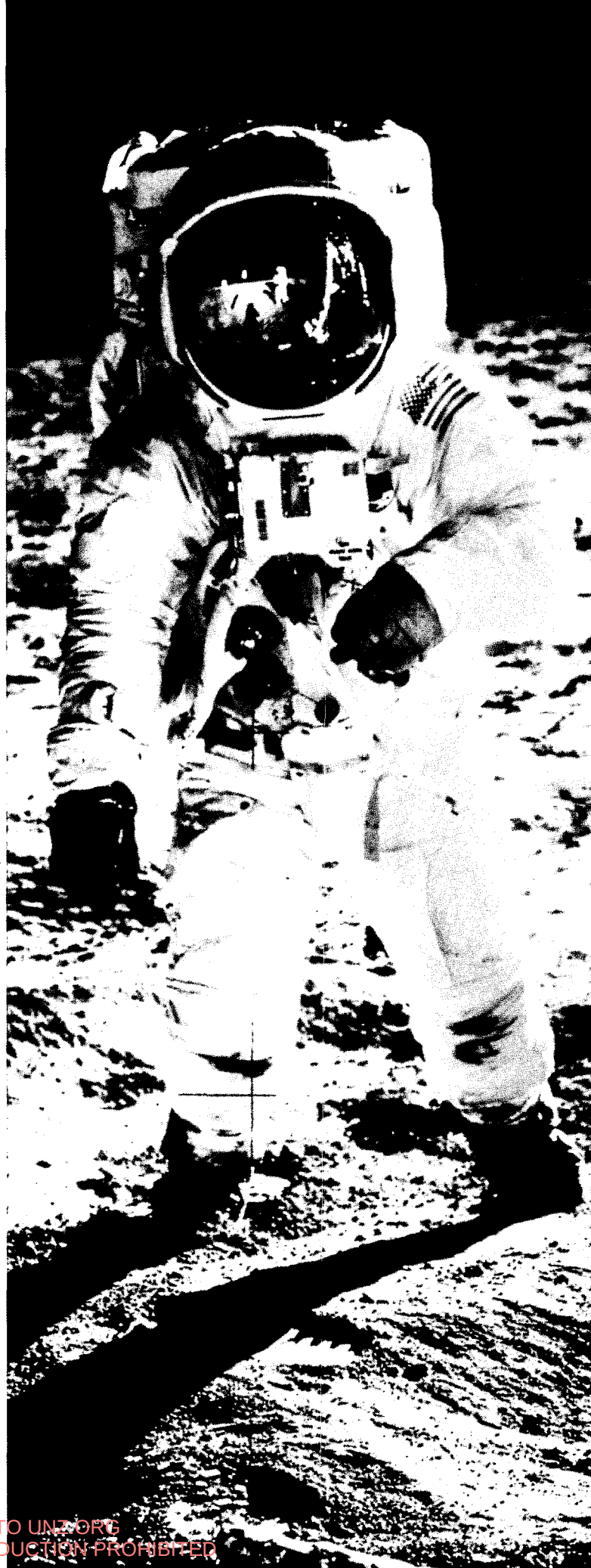
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The May issue of *California Journal* is largely dedicated to the 1998 primary election, to be held June 2nd. This issue includes analyses of all of the statewide election contests, including those for governor and the U.S. Senate. Also included are the *Journal's* district-by-district analyses of all of the races for Congress, state Senate, and Assembly.

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June '98: Open primary, open wallets

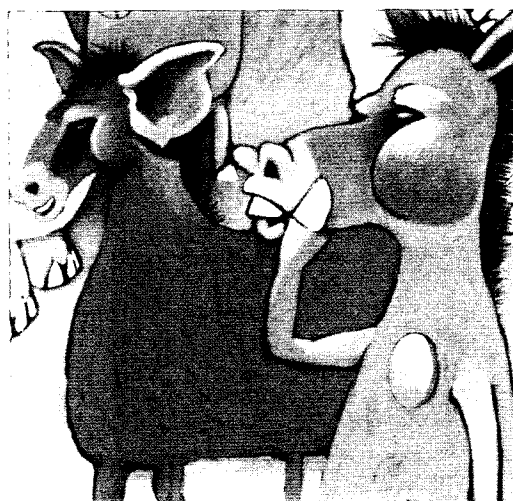
California's new "free for all" primary, coupled with early confusion about the rules of fund raising, provides an opening for candidates who combine broad appeal with deep, deep pockets.

by Steve Scott

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Statewide Races

This year's lineup of statewide races includes big bucks primaries for governor on the Democratic side and U.S. Senate on the Republican side. Contests also loom for lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, insurance commissioner, state school superintendent and the Board of Equalization.



California Journal's district-by-district analysis

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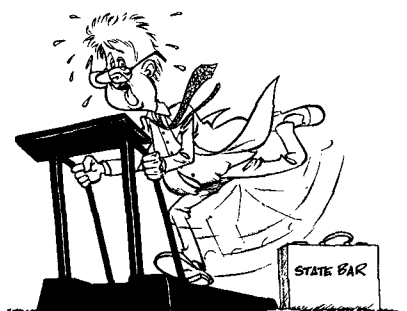
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Wilson vs. the State Bar

Governor Pete Wilson's veto of legislation to allow the State Bar of California to collect dues has sparked debate over how involved the Bar should become in politics, and how it conducts itself when it does become involved.

by Bill Ainsworth

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COVER

Digital Illustration by Anthony Strom

Upfront umbrage

Unimpeachable sources. Representative James Rogan (R-Pasadena) understands the importance of images. As a prosecutor, he once summed up his case against a drunk driver by opening 10 cans of beer and pouring them one by one into cups, without uttering a word to the jury. So Rogan should hardly be surprised by the stir created by his latest assignment from Speaker Newt Gingrich. Rogan, a former judge and an Assembly GOP leader, has been asked to review previous congressional investigations into the executive branch. Rogan's findings will help guide the GOP's response to independent counsel Kenneth Starr's report on President Clinton, which is expected around the end of the month. In scandal-plagued Washington, the task has drawn an unusual amount of media attention. "The impression of my importance is being greatly overstated," Rogan said. "I'm not drawing up articles of impeachment." Asked how the current case against Clinton stacks up against Watergate, Iran-Contra, "Filegate" or "Travelgate," and whether it might warrant impeachment proceedings, the freshman lawmaker demurs. "I just don't know," Rogan says, noting that he has no inside track on Starr's investigation. "And anyone who tells you they know either has a great sense of ESP or is just trying to get you to buy them lunch."

Come again? *Deus ex machina* is defined by Webster's as "a person or thing that appears, or is introduced suddenly and unexpectedly and provides a contrived solution to an apparently insoluble difficulty." Want an example? Ask Pete Wilson. Last month, Wilson announced he was not implementing the federally financed Children's Health Program, potentially leaving thousands of qualified recipients without their newly promised health coverage. It seems the governor's signature, which whisked the implementation plan to Washington for approval, wasn't Wilson's — it was that of an automatic pen. Such pens are normally

used to sign form letters, constituent correspondence and all manner of routine directives. Just a screw up you say? Well, it was certainly a well-timed screw-up. The "mystery of the automatic pen" also got Wilson out of a jam with Assembly Republicans, who didn't like certain features of that implementation plan, feeling it was too generous. So let's get this straight. A man who, we are told, is so meticulous about detail that he drives his staff up the walls during bill-signing days allows the implementation plan for a \$500 million health care program to be signed by auto-pen? And when somebody catches the mistake, this man — who wants to be president — decides it's better to have his administration look incompetent than have it look the least bit compassionate?

Coincidence? Speaking of peculiar aromas, what's that smell around the California Citizen's Compensation Commission? The institution set up presumably to take the politics out of the process of setting legislative salaries brought some politics on itself when it dished out raises for elected officials ranging from 26 to 35 percent. Most curious was the way the raises were addressed by the seven-member commission. The specific proposal adopted wasn't on the commission's agenda, and hints a raise might be in the works brought strong denials from its chair, Claude Brinegar. On the day of the meeting, though, two longtime Capitol pols — Chip Nielsen and Lance Olson — showed up to make the case for a pay raise. "Before I knew it ... there were four votes sitting out there [for a pay raise]," said one staffer. Brinegar tried to get the matter put over, without success. The timing of the raise, which takes effect in December 1998, boosts Governor Pete Wilson's annual retirement pension by about \$14,000 a year. 🏠

"Promises and pie crust are made to be broken."

— Jonathan Swift

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The Bottom Line

commentary

by Susan Rasky

Direct democracy

Direct democracy, the fancy name for what most Californians know as the initiative process, is suddenly all the rage among academic researchers and East Coast political pundits. Maybe it's because this year marks the 20th anniversary of Proposition 13. And certainly it's true that the use of the ballot box to enact laws is increasing in the 23 other states that permit the process.

Whatever the reason, the likes of Fred Kimball and Michael Arno are hot copy as political science and the national media belatedly discover that in California the successful qualification and passage of ballot measures involves the same kind of money and professional campaign techniques used to elect candidates.

Better late than never, but troubling as well because all the new attention to "professionalization," particularly the paid signature-gathering that Kimball and Arno specialize in, only serves to confuse the packaging with the product. The implication seems to be that if we could just return to the "good old days" of volunteer petition circulators and true grass-roots movements, the moneyed interest groups and other special pleaders would abandon the initiative arena for the tender mercies of the Legislature.

A chorus for regulation and reform, directed at precisely the wrong end of the initiative business, can't be far behind. So a little history might be instructive.

Contrary to popular lore, which dates the initiative industry from 1968 when Kimball's father, Fred Sr., established the family business in Southern California, neither professional initiative management nor paid signature-gathering is a particularly recent development in this state. Operating from a cramped office in downtown San Francisco, a political entrepreneur by the name of Joe Robinson began running direct-mail campaigns to qualify initiatives in 1920. By 1932, Robinson had figured out that paying petition circulators was a more efficient way to serve his clients, who judging by his fees, were unlikely to have been just plain folks seeking redress from their government. He routinely charged them \$75,000 — and on one occasion nearly \$200,000 — for guaranteed placement on the ballot. For additional sums, his California Initiative and Referendum Bureau was prepared to handle both fund raising and the subsequent mail campaign to urge a measure's passage or defeat.

"My secret is, I got a high-class organization," Robinson told journalist Mary Ellen Leary in a 1949 interview. He explained that part of his expertise was knowing the right kind of people who would allow him to put his statewide army of 3,000 paid circulators in the right kind of spots — by the gate or near the time clock and pay windows at all the big workplaces.

Robinson had no qualms about working a "yes" cam-

paign in one year and then turning around at the next election to urge the same measure's repeal. But he was picky about his clients. "We don't want to foist crackpot ideas," Leary quoted him as saying. "You come wanting a campaign, we ask who are you, who's back of it? Next, we want to know if you have the money."

The contemporary signature-gathering pros also make colorful copy. It's hard to resist a bizarre scene like the one that takes place in the backroom of a Berkeley coffee house twice each week where David Spero hands out petitions to a rag-tag group of circulators, pays up for the signatures gathered the previous week and trades gossip from the front lines. Part ward-heeler, part community activist and part father confessor, Spero dispenses political philosophy and encouragement to his troops, along with money for coffee and the occasional short-term loan to cover a bad week.

Spero is one of about 50 area coordinators around the state who operate as independent contractors for all the signature-gathering firms. They in turn subcontract to crew chiefs who redistribute the petitions to the actual circulators. If the street price is a dollar per signature, the "bump up" may be 30 cents or more by the time it reaches the coordinator level.

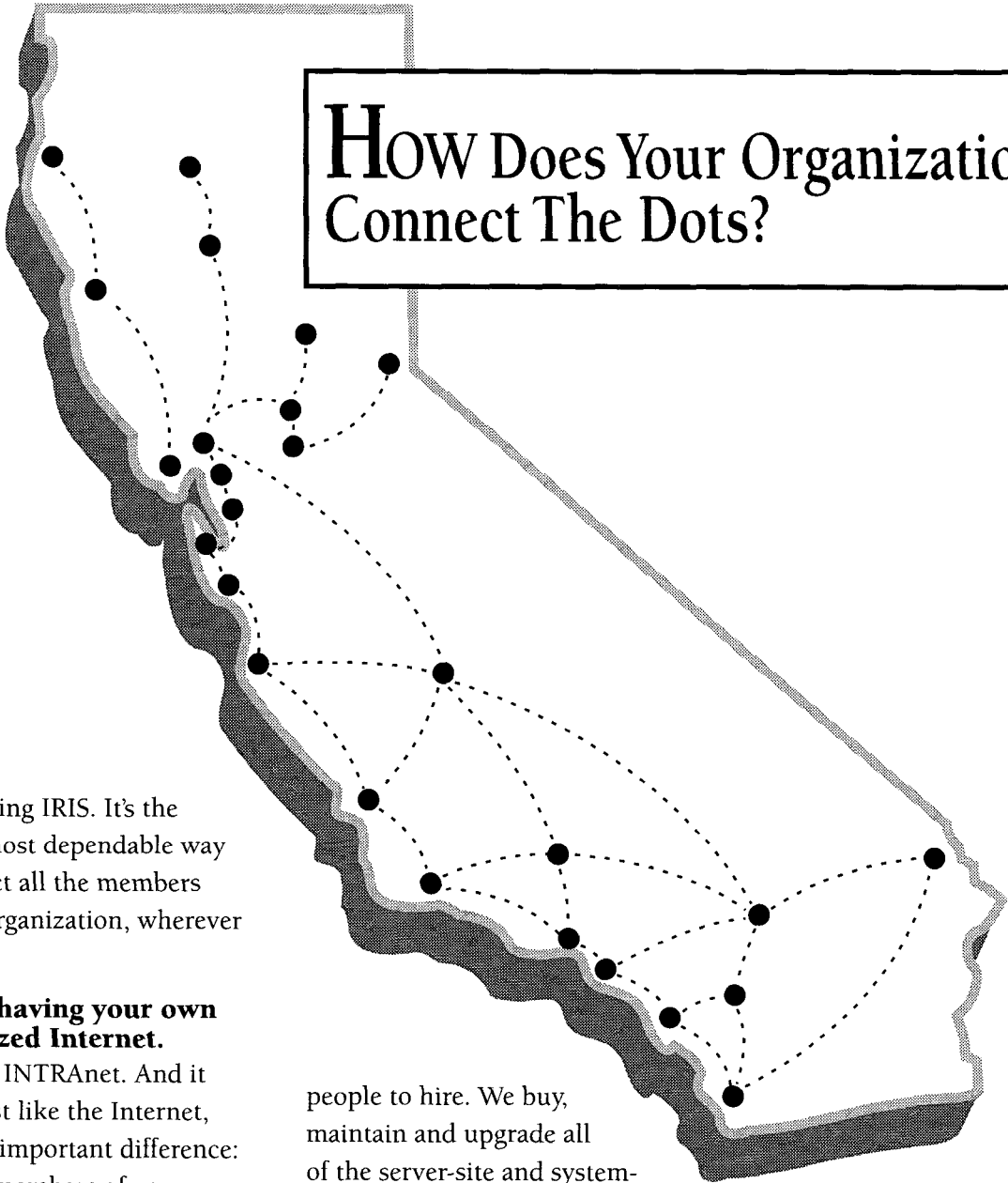
"Spero is an institution unto himself," says Bill Arno, Michael's brother and partner in Arno Political Consultants. "He's a cartel you have to go through to do business in San Francisco."

But even as the pundits and academics behold in first-time amazement the long-established operations of firms like Kimball's and Arno's and chronicle the export of a California-style initiative industry to other states, that industry here is changing.

The new element is competition, a sort more predictable and threatening than the amiable rivalry that heretofore has enabled Kimball, who owns the business with his brother Kelly, and Arno, who owns the business with brothers Peter and Bill, to make rough division of the petition spoils. Although both firms are ostensibly bipartisan and have even cooperated occasionally on signature drives, Kimball's clients tend to come from the left and Arno's from the right. There's enough business remaining for the husband-wife team of Ken Masterton and Sarah Wright to occupy a kind of parallel universe devoted largely to qualification of environmental measures.

Into this relatively comfortable mix has come Angello Paparella, owner of Progressive Campaigns, a four-year-old firm whose ideological boundaries are flexible enough to encompass signature drives for initiatives on medical marijuana, congressional term limits, tort reform, elimination of bilingual education in California public schools and increased tobacco taxes.

Paparella is nothing if not ambitious, and his competitors have made no secret about their displeasure with his aggressive tactics. If his business flourishes, the loudest voices in the calls for initiative reform may be theirs. 🏠



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June

Open primaries, open wallets

by Steve Scott

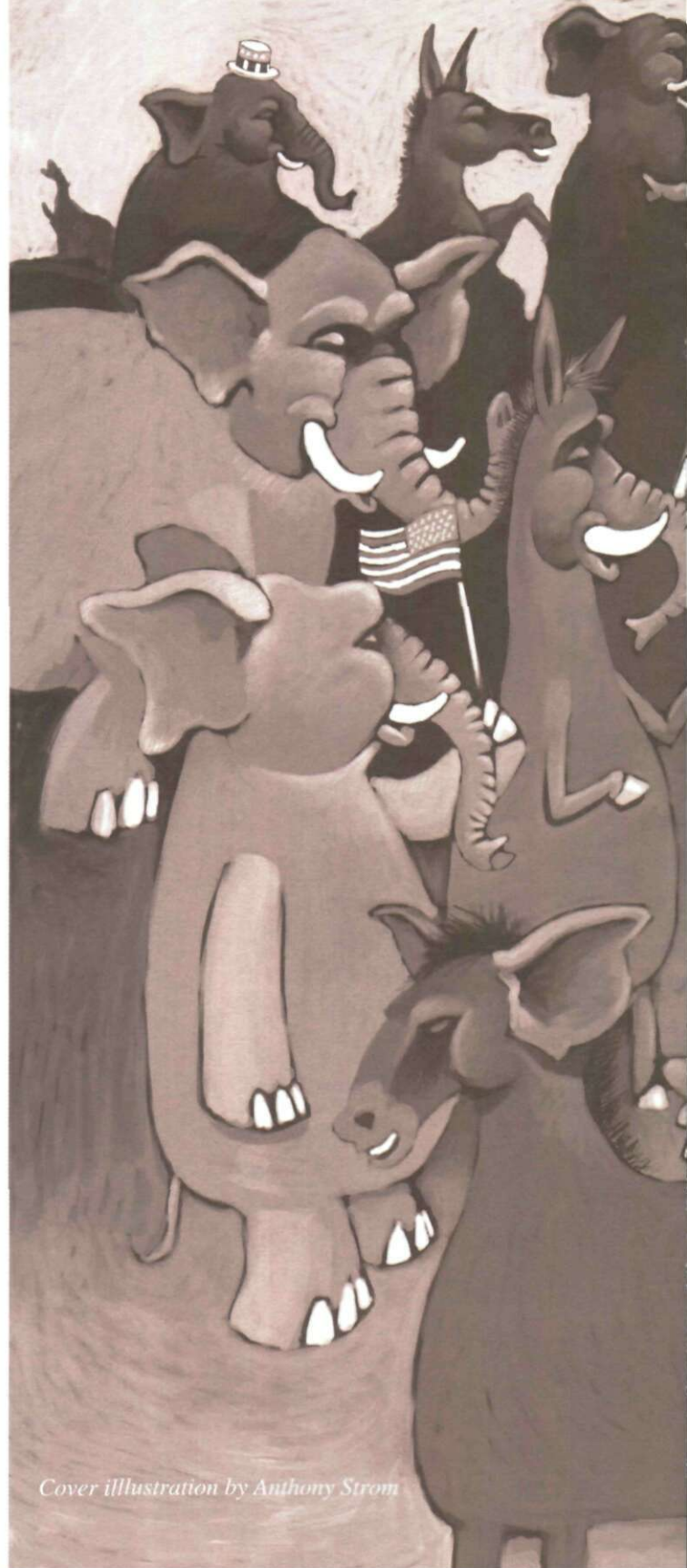
In considering the presidential campaign of then-Senator John F. Kennedy, former President Harry S. Truman once observed that it was not possible to buy the presidency, but it was possible to buy the nomination. These days, of course, a presidential nomination is a much more expensive proposition, what with the rise of saturation television, CNN and the Iowa Caucuses. At the national level, wealth hasn't been an immediate ticket to a nomination, except in the case of Ross Perot, who solved the problem by starting his own party.

But if the 1998 California primary season is any indication, there is no shortage of individuals looking to test Truman's theory, at least as it relates to legislative, congressional and statewide races. This year, perhaps as never before, personal wealth is seen by consultants and candidates alike almost as a prerequisite to making a serious run for office. "One of the questions we ask prospective clients is how much of your own money you're able or willing to put into a race," conceded one veteran political consultant.

The list begins at the top of the ticket, with Democratic gubernatorial candidates Al Checchi and Jane Harman and Republican U.S. Senate hopeful Darrell Issa, who among them had already spent around \$25 million as of early April. From there it extends through statewide offices with candidates like GOP businesswoman Noel Irwin-Hentschel in the race for lieutenant governor, and into legislative and congressional campaigns.

The trend toward self-financed candidates is nothing new, of course. The turning point in California came with the 1994 U. S. Senate campaign of then-Representative Michael Huffington (R-Santa Barbara). Huffington's \$30 million television war on incumbent Dianne Feinstein, then one of the

1998



Cover illustration by Anthony Strom



most popular politicians in the state, came within an eyelash of unseating her. Though unsuccessful, Huffington's campaign suggested to others with wealth that they could have an impact on politics simply by virtue of the size of their bankbooks. Such "checkbook campaigning" helped propel conservative state Senator Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove) — one of the co-founders of what is now called the California Independent Business PAC — into the GOP leadership in the state Senate. When the 1996 Senate elections didn't go well for the GOP, Hurtt's checkbook also "stopped the bullet" that is usually aimed at party leaders who don't produce in the elections. Hurtt eventually stepped down earlier this spring.

Ironically, a crucial factor that drew many self-financing pols in this year no longer exists. In 1996, voters approved Proposition 208, which, in addition to imposing mandatory contribution limits and voluntary spending limits, also banned campaign fund-raising in the off-year of an election cycle. The initiative was overturned in January of this year, but during the crucial decision-making period of 1997, its restrictions were in place, keeping many prospective candidates from being able to even seriously gauge whether or not they could raise the money to win an election. But wealthy candidates who were willing to spend on themselves were not bound by the restrictions, since the courts have ruled that personal spending is free speech. Thus, even when Proposition 208 was finally overturned, contenders who had their own start-up funds had already ramped up their campaigns and enjoyed a considerable head start over rivals forced to use the more traditional and time-consuming process of actually soliciting contributions.

In addition to the confusion surrounding Proposition 208, the trend toward self-financing was also enhanced by a simple but far-reaching procedural change enacted by the voters in 1996 — the open primary. Not seen in California for decades, the open (or "blanket" or "free-for-all") primary allows registered voters to vote for any candidate in any party. Previously, a person could only vote for primary candidates who were in their own party. Not only will Democrats be able to vote for Republicans and vice versa, but independent, decline-to-state voters would be able for the first time to vote in partisan primaries.

Most of those in the business of politics believe the incidence of crossover voting from one party to another will be relatively small. Democrats will still largely decide Democratic primaries, and Republicans will still decide GOP races. But few are willing to go out on a limb with respect to decline-to-state voters, whose numbers have risen to the point where they now make up about 12 percent of the electorate. It is these moderate, independent voters, who have been the most sought-after targets of self-financed candidates such as Perot, Huffington and more recently, Checchi and Harman, since they are, by definition, disengaged from the more traditional means of political identification, that of party affiliation.

The presence of an entire electorate voting for all candidates is likely to have a secondary impact on campaigns, particularly races at the top of the ticket. In a closed primary, an unopposed candidate in one party could cruise, knowing he or she could count on getting 100 percent of the vote. Now the vote will be listed as a percentage of the total for all candidates in the race. The open primary becomes, in effect, a dry run for the general — a "beauty contest," if you will. An unopposed candidate whose vote tally falls below

a certain threshold will be viewed as "weakened," perhaps inviting rivals across the aisle to place the race higher on the target list. Most vulnerable to this expectation game are state Attorney General Dan Lungren, the presumptive GOP gubernatorial candidate, and U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer, who is running for re-election. Both Lungren and Boxer are expected to spend money in the primary, perhaps more than they would like, to keep their supporters energized and to keep the media from writing them off.

Which again brings it back to the subject of money. With Proposition 208 out the window, most expect a spending binge, as candidates and initiatives vie for the eyes and ears of a public that engages later and later each year. Is all this money well spent? Well, it depends on where it is being spent. Four of the seven constitutional offices are open: governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general and treasurer. Also open are two Board of Equalization seats, four of the 52 congressional seats, 10 of the 20 Senate seats up for grabs, and 25 of the 80 Assembly seats. In these open seat races, early money and organization can, and often does, play a crucial role in who winds up winning the primary.

In cases where an incumbent is involved, the outlook is murkier. Independently financed candidates tend to build

their case to the voters around the notion that they are not career politicians, appealing to the "throw the bums out" mentality. But in 1998, most surveys of voter attitudes in California and around the nation show prospective constituents to be relatively satisfied with the way things are. The economy continues to boom, crime is at its lowest level in decades, and incumbents — from the president on down — seem to be relatively popular again.

If 1998 turns out to be what one insider termed a "complacency election," challengers will have to work harder to stir up anger in an electorate that's not really that angry. This suggests that campaigns will again have to turn to the negative in order to penetrate the consciousness of voters. Early advertising in both the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races are but a hint of what's to come, not only between now and June, but between now and November. For the powers that be, much will be at stake this fall — the makeup of both houses of the Legislature (currently under Democratic control), the shape of California's congressional delegation, and the governor who will preside over the next redrawing of the state's political boundaries.

But to get to the finals, you've got to win in the preliminaries. 🏛️

U.S. Senate



Democrats: Incumbent Barbara Boxer of Greenbrae, John Pinkerton of Pinon Hills. Republicans: John Brown of Stockton, Linh Dao of Fremont, Matt Fong of Los Angeles, Darrell Issa of Vista, Mark Raus of Rancho Cordova, Frank Riggs of Napa. American Independent: H. Joseph Perrin of Sacramento. Libertarian: Ted Brown of San Gabriel. Natural Law: Brian Rees of Pacific Palisades. Peace and Freedom: Ophie Beltran of Toluca Lake. Reform: Timothy Erich of Oakdale.

One year ago, Republicans were literally licking their chops about the coming campaign against incumbent Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer. Barely elected in 1992 despite a Democratic landslide and an opponent considered too conservative for the state, Boxer had spent most of her first term in the Senate at or near the top of the GOP's national target list. In the minds of most Republicans, Boxer was toast.

The GOP has gotten some rude surprises on the road to unseating Boxer. Most of them have been bad, as one by one, primo GOP candidates either dropped out or refused to drop in. The two remaining contenders are viewed privately by many Republicans as the "C Team" — a plodding statewide office holder with campaign finance problems and a dark-horse millionaire conservative with a loose tongue. Yet, with all those unwelcome developments, the biggest surprise of them all is this: The Republicans *still* have a better than decent chance to beat Boxer.

The snake that has bitten the GOP in this contest appeared early in 1997. The list of prospective candidates

was long indeed, including members of Congress, statewide office holders, and prominent local leaders. Among those most prominently mentioned were Representatives David Dreier of Glendale, Christopher Cox of Orange County, and even Sonny Bono of Palm Springs, who had run in the 1992 primary before being elected to Congress. Statewide office-holders eyeing a run included Secretary of State Bill Jones. There was also the ever-present talk of a celebrity candidate, such as Charlton Heston or Tom Selleck. Surely it wouldn't be that tough to find someone to take on Boxer.

When the call went out for volunteers to step forward, however, most took one step back. Having survived the 1996 elections with their majority intact, Republican House members preferred to enjoy the fruits of their seniority, rather than accept a place at the end of the line. GOP congressmen found themselves moving into positions of power and prominence in the House. Why go back to the end of the seniority line in the Senate when the future looks so bright in the House? Jones took a look at the race, but as his ambitions have tended toward the governorship, he quickly rerouted his attention to a bid for re-election. The celebrities were never seriously considered.

As the field settled out in late 1997, the Republican race seemed to be centered mostly on three people — state Treasurer Matt Fong, San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, and car alarm magnate Darrell Issa. Fong had won a surprise victory in 1994 over the better-funded Phil Angelides in the treasurer's race and though he was hardly a fireball on the stump, he was viewed as a potent fund raiser. Golding was the "golden girl" of the 1996 GOP convention in San Diego,

as the mayor of the host city. Issa, whose personal worth is estimated at \$200 million, was the great unknown, mentioned mostly for his money, but viewed by many Republicans as too conservative to compete statewide against Boxer.

Golding appeared to match up the best against Boxer. A moderate pro-choice woman, she would negate many of the natural advantages Boxer had enjoyed in her first run against conservative talk show host Bruce Herschensohn. She also had the Pete Wilson campaign team in her corner. But the unlucky snake took another bite. Golding found herself shackled by a brewing local controversy over the reconditioning of the stadium in San Diego. The controversy kept her off the statewide hustings and, more important, off the fund-raising circuit. Finally, in mid-January, Golding threw in the towel.

While Golding was faltering, Issa was using his personal wealth to begin the long process of familiarizing voters with exactly who he is. Issa's first round of advertising, a \$2 million radio buy, was surprising because it shunned the traditional biographical approach used in most introductory spots, and went straight after Boxer. "I'm running because Barbara Boxer is one of the worst senators in California history," Issa said in the self-voiced spots. Armed with many alumni of Herschensohn's campaign, the pro-life, anti-gun control Issa set about consolidating the conservative wing of the Republican Party.

The best known of the three was Fong, the first-term treasurer and son of former Secretary of State March Fong Eu. As an Asian-American, Fong seemed an ideal choice to blunt some of the negative fallout Republicans had suffered among minority voters in 1996, a fallout precipitated by the party's stance in support of the immigration initiative, Proposition 187, and the anti-affirmative action measure, Proposition 209. Fong also had built a reputation as a solid fund raiser and had secured some solid early endorsements.

But the treasurer also had no shortage of shortcomings. He made a rookie mistake early on when he jumped the gun on an endorsement from former President George Bush. Bush has not endorsed in the race. He openly, and seemingly unapologetically, dodges questions regarding his stance on abortion rights, the issue that helped propel Boxer to the Senate in 1992. Fong insists he won't be labeled either "pro-choice or pro-life." And as the GOP-led Congress



Boxer



Fong



Issa

began investigating ties between the Clinton re-election campaign and Asian business interests, it was learned that Fong had accepted \$100,000 from those self-same interests. Fong insists he did nothing wrong and only returned the contributions to avoid the appearance of impropriety.

With Fong's campaign stalling and Issa's television campaign bringing his poll numbers up, Republican moderates started throwing out a lot of names, including that of outgoing Governor Pete Wilson and even Selleck. But in the end, the only name added to the candidate list was that of Frank Riggs, a congressman from the North Coast. Virtually unknown outside his home district, Riggs is known within political circles for having unseated an incumbent Democrat in 1990, lost his re-election bid to a Democrat in 1992, and re-taken the seat from that same Democrat in 1994.

Riggs' entry in the race added another name plate to the first round of candidate debates and forums. Many believe his entry was simply a face-saving gesture to avoid an almost certain defeat in his congressional re-election bid. In early April, Riggs threw in the towel, citing the high cost of campaigning statewide.

With Issa moving into a slight lead in a spring Field Poll, it seemed clear that the millionaire had become the target everyone would be shooting at. But Issa had already begun turning his fire onto Boxer. The feisty Marin County incumbent's political career has been a remarkable combination of opportunism and luck, and by most accounts that luck is holding so far, at least in her ability to avoid a top-grade GOP rival. But Boxer isn't out of the woods yet. Her negative rating in the most recent Field Poll pushed 40 percent — remarkably high for an incumbent. When matched up against her rivals in an open primary, Boxer pulls only 42 percent — well above the others, but well below the 50 percent considered an incumbent's safety zone.

With Issa's penchant for speaking off the cuff (in April, he was quoted as calling President Clinton a "slut"), the 44-year-old millionaire can expect to learn just how tough a business politics can be between now and June. If he can hold off Fong, Issa — along with Boxer — will be giving the same lesson to the voters from June until November.

— Steve Scott

Governor



Democrats: Al Checchi, Gray Davis, Jane Harman all of Los Angeles, Pia Jensen of Cotati, Michael Plalitz of Newport Beach, Charles Pineda Jr. of Sacramento. Republicans: James Crawford of Ventura, Dan Lungren of Sacramento, Dennis Peron of San Francisco, Eduardo Rivera of Lomita, Jeff Williams of California City. American Independent: Nathan Johnson of San Diego. Green: Dan Hamburg of Oakland. Libertarian: Steve Kubby of Olympic Valley. Natural Law: Harold Bloomfield of Del Mar. Peace and Freedom: Marsha Feinland of Berkeley, Gloria La Riva of San Francisco.

Late last November, as Californians “couch potatoed” their way through the Thanksgiving weekend picking through turkey bones and polishing off pumpkin pie, some images began floating past them on television. A guy in a suit, hanging with schoolchildren, then walking on the beach with his family. Somewhere through the carbohydrate turpor the words “Checchi for governor” wafted into their ears. Those who hadn’t completely fallen into unconsciousness most likely thought they might have slept through the rest of 1997 and most of 1998.

“Who? What? Governor? Is there an election? Is there more pie?”

Thanks to Al Checchi, the multimillionaire former co-chairman of Northwest Airlines, Californians were treated to the earliest-starting gubernatorial election ever. At a time when most of the pundit crew was still sorting through the “maybes,” Checchi was already on television. His commercials were paid for out of a personal fortune estimated to range from \$500 million to \$800 million, depending on how well the stock market is doing that week. Yet for all of his spending, that as of early April had already approached \$20 million, Checchi and his wealth remain only one of many factors that will determine who will succeed the term-limited Pete Wilson as the next governor of California.

Until January of this year, the central figure in the gubernatorial hunt was someone who spends most of her time out of state — California senior U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein. Feinstein had tried once before, in 1990, losing narrowly to then-Senator Pete Wilson. Since then, though, she’d won and defended her Senate seat, had a battle-tested campaign team, and was considered by many on both sides of the aisle as a clear favorite in any matchup with the presumptive Republican nominee, Attorney General Dan Lungren.

But as time went on, it became clear that the Democratic waters would not part at the mere mention of Feinstein’s name. Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, winner of three of his previous four runs for statewide office, had already been hard at work lining up support, and had banked about \$3 million for his gubernatorial effort before campaign finance restrictions took hold in December 1996. Davis, the one-time chief of staff to Governor Jerry Brown, was the leader in most early polls that did not include Feinstein, largely on the

strength of name identification accumulated through more than a decade in statewide office, as controller and lieutenant governor.

Checchi, meanwhile, dropped \$2 million into an “exploratory committee” — an unprecedented personal commitment so early in the race — and hired veteran Democratic consultant Darry Sragow, who had worked on Feinstein’s 1990 gubernatorial race. Checchi’s business experience was largely wrapped up in making deals — he’d worked for corporate takeover specialists Bass Brothers before becoming involved in the takeover of Northwest. His plan was to tout his legacy at Northwest, which on his watch came back from near bankruptcy in the early 1990s to become one of the nation’s strongest carriers.

As time went on, both Checchi and Davis began to reveal weaknesses that continued to spark interest in a Feinstein candidacy. Speaking to the Sacramento Press Club, Checchi acknowledged he had missed some elections — he

hadn’t voted in any recent primary elections and had missed the 1994 general election in California. His explanation — “I was busy running a company” — fell flat with those covering the race. The Davis campaign and some journalists, meanwhile, began poking holes in Checchi’s “legacy” at Northwest Airlines and his seemingly studied refusal to identify



Lungren

himself as a Democrat in any of his campaign commercials.

With polls continuing to show her strong, Feinstein nonetheless continued to dither on into 1998. Finally in February, less than two weeks before the filing deadline, Feinstein dropped out, citing the dispiriting state of the electoral process in California. Feinstein’s departure brought sighs of relief for the rest of the major candidates in the race, including Lungren. But that relief lasted only a few days. On the last day before the end of filing, Representative Jane Harman (D-Marina Del Rey) tossed her hat into the ring, via press release.

Harman, a three-term Democrat, admitted she hadn’t even considered running for the state’s highest office until Feinstein dropped out, and was little known outside of the coastal Los Angeles County district she represents. But

Harman — who served in the Carter administration and was a lawyer/lobbyist in Washington — was still a factor from the get-go for one simple reason: She and her husband have money, too. Lots of it. Harman spent more than \$2 million to win her seat in 1992 and has chipped in personal resources in subsequent races to hold the seat.



Harman

Despite securing the services of Feinstein's campaign "A-team," including consultants Bill Carrick and Kim Kuwata, Harman's early foray into the race was unsteady — during the exploratory phase she drew criticism for refusing to answer any questions about California issues. But not long after her formal announcement, Harman also began showing up on television screens, in appealing commercials showing her looking directly at the camera. Within six weeks of entering the race, Harman had zoomed from virtual anonymity in statewide polls to a statistical dead heat with Checchi, who had overtaken Davis in the wake of Feinstein's departure from the race.

Checchi's response to the poll results was immediate and blistering — a \$200,000 advertising blitz attacking Harman for being a "career" politician. Subsequent spots assailed Harman's voting record in Congress, accusing her of supporting the controversial government shutdown and backing cuts in Medicare and Social Security. Harman denounced the ads as being untrue, but fair or not, they were clearly negative in tone — an abrogation of Checchi's earlier vow not to resort to negative campaigning. But Harman didn't just get mad — she got even, with a response spot that many voters remembered better than the attack that precipitated it. Harman's front runner status among Democrats brought out more dirty laundry, including a rehashed attack from her congressional campaigns about lobbying connections with the People's Republic of China.



Davis

clear that most of the media spotlight will continue to shine on Harman and Checchi, the two millionaires engaged in the spending war. Harman appears to be the stronger of the two on television — her direct eye contact with the camera comes across with more warmth than the diffident Checchi. But Checchi does have that bottomless checkbook, and with his "no negatives" promise now in the dust, he can be as aggressive as he wants to be, possibly forcing Harman on the defensive.

What about Gray Davis? Well, as anyone who has followed his career knows, Davis never goes away, and he never makes any "no negative campaigning" promises. Davis has continued to gather endorsements from traditional Democratic constituent groups, and is touting himself as the "real Democrat" in the race. While his early advertising was limited to a somewhat uninspired radio ad, Davis has squirreled away enough nuts to keep himself in the television game at the finish. His final push figures to center around his two rivals, in hopes he can poke holes in their inexperience.



Checchi

While the Democrats run up the total price tag on the race, Lungren watches with interest from the sidelines. The only primary rival of his who has gotten any attention at all is Dennis Peron, the owner of the San Francisco Cannabis Buyer's Club. Lungren, an ardent opponent of 1996's Proposition 215 legalizing medicinal marijuana use, has prosecuted Peron's club for selling pot. His low-financed

effort is largely viewed as a grudge match. But while Peron may not pose much of a threat, the sidelines are not quite as comfortable a place for the two-term attorney general looking to move up. Like all candidates, Lungren will be running in an open primary, and most of the statewide polling has involved all candidates. The most recent statewide Field Poll showed Lungren ahead of all three Democrats, but with only 24 percent of the vote. A subsequent *Los Angeles Times* poll showed him losing to all three in head-to-head contests, and both polls showed him around 50 percent among Republican voters. Lungren also didn't help himself in the early going — at his campaign kickoff this past spring, the Notre Dame-educated Lungren called for a dialogue on religion, a potential campaign irritant in a state known for its secularism.

Most analysts believe Lungren will have to spend some of his campaign resources early on to keep his numbers from dropping too low in the primary. But for the most part, the race to the finish in the primary will be dominated by all those Democrats and all that money. 🏠

— Steve Scott

Lieutenant Governor



Democrats: Cruz Bustamante of Fresno, Tony Miller of Sacramento, Larry Reed of Mira Loma. Republicans: Noel Irwin Hentschel of Los Angeles, Tim Leslie of Sacramento, Ingrid Lundberg of Sacramento, Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia. American Independent: George McCoy of Anza. Green: Sara Amir of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Thomas Tryon of Angels Camp. Peace and Freedom: Jaime Gomez of Los Angeles, Regina Lark of Canoga Park. Reform: James Mangia of West Hollywood.

It's the number-two spot on the statewide ticket, but the lieutenant governor's race typically falls well "below the radar screen" in terms of political prominence and voter awareness. So it's not surprising that a spring Field Poll found the top vote-getter for lieutenant governor was "undecided," garnering 55 percent among likely voters. Conducted in early March, the polling showed voters are not yet familiar enough with the candidates to make firm choices.

And with 15 candidates on the ballot, there will be plenty of choices. In the Field Poll, the front-runner with 17 percent was former Democratic Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante of Fresno, who held the top post for 14 months until term limits handed him a retirement notice. With his Central Valley roots, Hispanic heritage and ties to Democratic Party faithful — U.S. Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer have endorsed him — he's well situated. And Bustamante's got the money. As speaker, he amassed a campaign war chest of roughly \$1.5 million, most of which he unabashedly took with him when he decided to run for lieutenant governor.

His chief Democratic rival is Tony Miller, former deputy secretary of state and best known for spearheading the campaign-finance reform measure, Proposition 208, which was passed by voters in 1996 but thrown out by the courts earlier this year. Miller, a passionate believer in reducing candidates' reliance on special-interest donations, calls this campaign "a contest between the message and the money." In a blanket primary, he says his call for campaign-finance reform will appeal to voters across the political spectrum. By voluntarily limiting himself to Proposition 208's ceiling on individual donations, however, Miller will be hard pressed to get his message out to voters. His standing in the recent Field Poll was 5 percent.

On the Republican side, money could vault Noel Irwin



Irwin Hentschel



Bustamante

Hentschel, a little known but well-financed travel agency owner, into the front of the Republican ranks. The multimillionaire founder and CEO of AmericanTours International and a mother of seven, Irwin Hentschel is making her first bid for elective office. In a pack of white male politicians, she stands apart both in gender and in her non-politician status. Those attributes may bode well for her among crossover



Leslie

Democrats who are free to jump party in this first-ever blanket primary. Irwin Hentschel has the backing of the old GOP wing, including former First Lady Nancy Reagan and Republican adviser Stu Spencer, and recently was endorsed by the Northern California Lincoln Club.

Vying with her for GOP votes are state Senators Tim Leslie of Tahoe City and Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia. Also running in her first try at elected office is Republican Ingrid Lundberg of Sacramento, who works in her family's rice-growing business.

Leslie appears to have successfully conquered a rare form of bone marrow cancer that kept him out of the Legislature the past several months while convalescing at home. Armed with a doctor's clean bill of health after intense chemotherapy treatments, Leslie announced in February that he's ready for the campaign trail. He garnered some statewide attention last year for toughening driver's license requirements for teens. Mountjoy, a conservative legislator since 1978, has been a vocal opponent of gun-control bills. He also authored Proposition 187, the anti-illegal immigration bill on the 1994 ballot. The three main GOP rivals divvied up the Field Poll vote with Mountjoy

taking 8 percent, Leslie 6 percent and Irwin Hentschel 3 percent. 

— Claudia Buck

Attorney General



Democrats: Charles Calderon of Whittier, Bill Lockyer of Hayward, Lynn Schenk of La Jolla, Michael Schmier of Emeryville. Republicans: Michael Capizzi of Santa Ana, David Stirling of Sacramento. American Independent: Diane Templin of Escondido. Libertarian: Joseph Farina of Sacramento. Peace and Freedom: Robert Evans of Oakland, Gary Kast of North Hollywood.

His opponents say it's much too early to identify a front-runner, but former Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward) is clearly the leader in fund-raising and in early polling, although a March Field Poll shows more than half of voters remain undecided. Lockyer has far and away more money to spend than any other candidate having reported \$3.3 million "cash on hand" in March.

The early Field polling found Lockyer was favored by 11 percent of likely voters, with three candidates -- former Representative Lynn Schenk, Chief Deputy Attorney General Dave Stirling and Orange County District Attorney Mike Capizzi -- tied with 8 percent. Senator Charles Calderon had 5 percent. Calderon has \$1 million "cash on hand," still far more than the two Republican candidates. Although Stirling, who is on leave from his position as top deputy to current Attorney General Dan Lungren, reported raising \$450,000, he reported only \$77,000 in the bank -- the result, according to campaign manager Mike McCey, of spending "quite a lot" on slate mailers and other "grass-roots" campaign efforts. Capizzi reported raising \$377,000, with \$312,000 cash on hand.

Among likely Democratic voters, Lockyer was favored by 19 percent. Schenk by 13 percent and Calderon by 8 percent, with 54 percent undecided. Among likely Republican voters, 16 percent favored Stirling and 14 percent Capizzi, with 59 percent undecided. Calderon called the poll "statistically insignificant," and said the race is "up for grabs."

Although the Republican contenders -- Stirling and Capizzi -- were announced candidates early on, Lockyer and Calderon hedged until the outcome of a legal challenge to term limits was decided. Lockyer, a former teacher who went to law school at night while a lawmaker, has spent most of his professional life in the Legislature. Frequently called the "most powerful Democrat" in California, Lockyer carved out a formidable reputation as a fund raiser and lawmaker with prodigious negotiating skills who steered the Legislature through rocky policy waters in his four years as pro tem. In informal polling of legislative staff, lobbyists, consultants and others close to the Legislature, the *California Journal* in March named him "legislator of the year." Longtime chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Lockyer has a mercurial, occasionally heated temperament and, reportedly, had an early penchant for sometimes unwanted advances toward women, one of them a prominent journalist who wrote about the encounter. The 56-year-old Lockyer, who is divorced, says he's "nuttier" over the years, curbed his temper and no longer leads the active single life of a young assemblyman with the usual appetites. The author of "a good number" of the state's civil and criminal laws, Lockyer plans to place more emphasis than the current attorney general, Dan Lungren, on enforcement of consumer, environmental, civil

rights and other more "liberal" legal arenas. Like the other candidates in the race for an office that is responsible for representing the state in all death penalty appeals, Lockyer is pro-death penalty.

Calderon, 47, may be the lesser known and funded of the two principal Democratic candidates, but he is a formidable fund raiser who can draw on a Southern California

funding and voter base, which includes a substantial Latino population. Calderon has served in the Legislature since 1982, when he was elected to the Assembly, moving up to the Senate in 1990. A school board member and deputy city attorney in Los Angeles, he also has practiced law in the private sector. In the Legislature, he served as chair of the Latino Legislative Caucus, was Senate majority leader and chair of Senate Judiciary. He became

an aggressive champion of "fathers' rights" in child-custody cases -- a passion apparently related to his own nasty divorce and custody battle. He is the first Latino to run for the post.

Schenk, 53, the only woman in the race, is a San Diego attorney who served one term in Congress and was a member of the Cabinet of former Governor Jerry Brown. A deputy attorney general in the early 1970s, she said she had \$350,000 cash on hand in mid-April, not as much as her rivals.

If a recent spate of dueling press releases is any indication, the battle between Republicans Capizzi and Stirling is likely to be the most heated of the primary campaign. Capizzi, the *persona non grata* of the Orange County Republican Party and the state GOP for his prosecutions of alleged political corruption among GOP candidates and campaign workers, says he was simply doing his job. A career prosecutor, he has been endorsed by most district attorneys throughout the state.

Thus far, Stirling has been waging an aggressive, some would say negative, campaign against Capizzi. Stirling also cites his varied background in politics

and government, which includes the Legislature (he served in the Assembly from 1976-82), and stints as general counsel to the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board and a Superior Court judge, as well as Lungren's chief deputy. He is endorsed by a wide range of judicial, legislative, legal and law enforcement officials. While Stirling is praised for his administrative skills by Lungren, the gubernatorial hopeful has not made an official endorsement in the primary. 

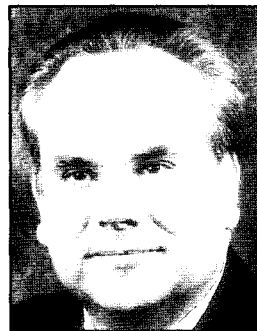
— Sigrid Bathen



Calderon



Capizzi



Lockyer



Schenk



Stirling

Secretary of State

Treasurer



Democrat: Michela Alioto of St. Helena. Republican: Incumbent Bill Jones of Fresno. American Independent: Carolyn Rae Short of Durham. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of Pismo Beach. Natural Law: Jane Ann Bialosky of Santa Barbara. Peace and Freedom: Israel Feuer of Los Angeles, Marisa Palyvos-Story of Toluca Lake. Reform: Valli Sharpe-Geisler of San Jose.

If incumbent Bill Jones has any problems, it's raising his name ID among voters. A late-March Field poll showed only 28 percent of voters knew the Republican well enough to have an opinion about him. Told his party affiliation, 34 percent of those polled said they would support him, while Democratic opponent Michela Alioto was favored by 23 percent.

While that approval rating is not unusual for a down-ticket post, it's not very showy for someone whose name has been in the news so frequently. Not only is the former Fresno assemblyman the author of the three-strikes-law, he has more recently made news (some of it negative) defending term limits, the open primary, campaign finance reform and Internet disclosure, as well as by investigating voter fraud and promoting use of ID at the polls.

While several third-party candidates are running for the office, neither Jones nor Alioto faces a primary opponent. Even so, the granddaughter of the late San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto has started actively campaigning, slamming Jones for what some say was overkill in his Orange County voter fraud probe and accusing him of bringing a Republican agenda to election issues, charges Jones says are unfounded.

Only 29 years old, Alioto has acquired some campaign battle scars and her share of negative press. She came out the loser in a bruising 1996 fight against incumbent Frank Riggs in the 1st Congressional District — one of the most negative races that year. With ties to Washington, D.C. through her work for Vice President Al Gore, Alioto had backing from national labor, environmental and women's groups. But it took \$200,000 of her own money to knock out the local Democrats' choice in the primary, and area groups took longer to line up behind her.

The race likely will heat up as the fall approaches, but down-ticket races always vie for attention in the caucaphony at the top. 🏠



Jones



Alioto

— Melanie Smith



Democrats: Phil Angelides of Sacramento, Mervin Evans of Culver, Albert Robles of South Gate. Republicans: Jan Goldsmith of Poway, Curt Pringle of Garden Grove. American Independent: Edmon Kaiser of Fresno. Libertarian: Jon Peterson of San Jose. Natural Law: Carlos Aguirre of Laguna Niguel. Peace and Freedom: Jan Tucker of Toluca Lake.

This seat is fast becoming a launching pad for those seeking higher office. It's also becoming a bivouac for primary mudfests when incumbents step aside. It happened in 1994 when Democratic incumbent Kathleen Brown ran unsuccessfully for governor, opening the door for former state Democratic Party Chairman Phil Angelides and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti to mix it up in the nastiest statewide primary campaign that year. And now, thanks to Republican Treasurer Matt Fong's bid for the U.S. Senate, the field is open for two termed-out GOP assemblymen — Jan Goldsmith of Poway and Curt Pringle of Garden Grove — to dirty themselves.

Of the two, Pringle is the early front-runner, according to a March Field Poll, despite being a late entry into the race. Originally, Pringle planned a run for state controller, until it became apparent incumbent Kathleen Connell was staying put. Pringle's move to this race, in fact, bumped another GOP rival, San Mateo County Supervisor Ruben Barrales, into the much tougher challenge against Connell. Pringle also tried unsuccessfully to get Goldsmith out. But Goldsmith refused to accommodate Pringle — after all, the San Diego assemblyman last year switched his plans for a controller run after the former Assembly speaker indicated interest in the seat.

Pringle has attacked Goldsmith — a moderate pro-choice Republican — for trying to reinvent himself as a conservative in order to appeal to the party's right wing. Pringle also is reminding the party faithful that his opponent broke caucus ranks during the stormy Doris Allen days of 1995 by welcoming the renegade Republican with open arms after Democrats elected her speaker. Goldsmith, meanwhile, is



Angelides



Pringle



Goldsmith

reminding folks of Pringle's infamous "poll guard" incident in 1988 and his involvement in launching the recall of Allen which became scandalized by an effort to place a decoy Democrat on the ballot.

Early in the campaign, Goldsmith enjoyed a huge advantage in endorsements, especially among legislative members. But that was before Pringle switched to treasurer, after which some Goldsmith supporters endorsed Pringle as well and in effect neutralized some of Goldsmith's early work. An important endorsement Pringle did not get, though, was that of the conservative California Republican Assembly, which some expected would go automatically to the Orange County lawmaker. Recently, however, some right-wing elements in the party have soured on Pringle because of his penchant for Capitol deal-making and for his support of a pro-choice Republican in a south coast congressional special election. The CRA chose not to endorse anyone in the race — which Goldsmith's camp considered as good as a victory.

Pringle did win the support of the incumbent Fong, in part because of Pringle's ability to raise money; as of the first reporting period, Pringle led Goldsmith \$273,000 to \$43,000 in money raised. That ability, along with better statewide name recognition, leads some Republicans to believe Pringle is the best chance to defeat Angelides in November.

Raising and spending money is one thing at which Angelides — who faces no serious opposition in his primary — excels. In 1994, Angelides outspent Fong two-to-one. He's also capable of going negative if things get desperate — as evident when he ran a television ad in '94 implying Roberti, a pro-life Democrat, supported the killing of a Florida abortion doctor. Which means the November contest could be another ugly one, whether it's Pringle or Goldsmith facing Angelides. 🏠

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Feinstein finally chose not to run, leaving Connell with too little time to raise money and jump-start a statewide campaign with less than five months before the primary.



Connell

As it turned out, however, Connell's decision to stay put was probably for the best. Otherwise, she might have wound up running for governor from a hospital bed. In late March, while running through the Los Angeles airport to catch a flight, Connell slipped and broke her right hip. Sound familiar? Well, that's because the 50-year-old state controller broke her left hip last year while roller-blading with her children. Furthermore, the injury-prone Connell was seen sporting a cast on her foot when she declared her re-election plans back in January, thanks to a broken toe.

Despite the recent injury, Connell is expected to make a full recovery by the primary. And since she isn't facing any Democratic opposition in June, the incumbent can rest easy and raise money by phone for November. Money, of course, has never been a problem for Connell. In addition to the advantage incumbency provides in fund raising (she currently has \$900,000 in her treasury), Connell has personal wealth; in 1994, the former Chemical Bank adviser spent over \$1 million of her own money on her first controller's race.



Barrales

Such luxury of personal wealth will not be a benefit of her Republican opponent, Ruben Barrales, who also is unopposed in the primary. The San Mateo County supervisor will enjoy the backing of party

leaders, including gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren, who would like nothing more than the GOP's only Latino candidate for statewide office to make a splash in the November election after so much has been made of the Republican Party's image problem with Latinos.

Some have questioned, though, how sincere the party leadership is when it comes to Latino candidates like Barrales. For instance, Stu Spencer, a longtime GOP guru and former Ronald Reagan adviser, urged his party brethren in an open letter last fall to support Barrales in his bid for state treasurer as a way to repair the party's perception problem. But Barrales wound up abandoning that campaign — an open seat — and jumping to the much tougher controller's race after former GOP Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle nudged him out of the way. Though Barrales' decision to make way for Pringle made the party hierarchy happy, it did not sit well with some Latino Republican leaders, who felt the party should have stood behind Barrales' treasurer bid. 🏠

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Controller



Democrat: Incumbent Kathleen Connell of Los Angeles. Republican: Ruben Barrales of Redwood City. American Independent: Alfred Burgess of Colton. Libertarian: Pamela Pescosolido of Visalia. Natural Law: Iris Adam of Irvine. Peace and Freedom: C.T. Weber of San Diego. Reform: Denise Jackson of Fullerton.

When 1998 began, it was a given that incumbent Kathleen Connell's name would be on the statewide ballot. The only surprise was the office — controller, not governor. For the last two years, Connell's name kept surfacing as a potential Democratic contender for governor. But the first-term incumbent refused to commit to a gubernatorial bid as long as U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein — the expected front-runner and only other woman candidate — continued to hem and haw about her candidacy plans. For Connell, that meant waiting until late January to make a decision, after

Insurance Commissioner



Democrats: Hal Brown of San Anselmo, Diane Martinez of Rosemead. Republican: Incumbent Charles Quackenbush of Sacramento. American Independent: Merton Short of Durham. Libertarian: Dale Ogden. Natural Law: Barbara Bourdette of Solana Beach. Peace and Freedom: Tom Condit of Berkeley, Gary Ramos of Commerce.

Considering that the insurance commissioner is one of the few statewide constitutional offices with some real practical power, the field of contestants lining up to take a shot at Republican incumbent Charles Quackenbush is surprisingly thin. Only two Democrats have jumped in, and neither carries any appreciable statewide name recognition.

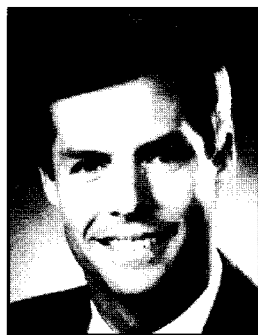
The first to enter the race was Marin County Supervisor Hal Brown. Brown, who has been a supervisor since 1983, has some famous family ties — his uncle is former Governor Edmund G. “Pat” Brown, and his first cousins are former Governor Jerry Brown and gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown. Brown has trained most of his fire on Quackenbush, in the process gathering an impressive array of endorsements from many of the traditional Democratic constituency groups. Just about every news release issued from his campaign includes some variation of the line: “nephew of former Governor Pat Brown,” or “cousin of former Governor Jerry Brown.”

Of course, Brown’s Democratic rival also carries a name that is well known, at least in some circles. Democratic Assemblywoman Diane Martinez is the daughter of Representative Matthew Martinez (D-Los Angeles). Few legislators currently serving in Sacramento have as colorful a reputation as Diane Martinez. Often bellicose and frequently insulting to colleagues, committee witnesses and just about everyone else, Martinez is one of the least-liked members of the Legislature. Nonetheless, her endorsement list includes a number of her soon-to-be former colleagues, including Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa.

While Martinez’ Sacramento ties may help her somewhat with fund raising, her penchant for alienating the

lobbying corps — which is often called upon to make fund-raising recommendations to clients — will likely keep her from cleaning up too heavily. And with Brown having both the institutional endorsements and the more famous name, it is likely Martinez will spend most of her time playing catch-up. But this much is certain: With Martinez in the hunt, the Democratic primary for insurance commissioner will be anything but dull. 🏠

— Steve Scott



Quackenbush



Brown



Martinez

Superintendent of Public Instruction



Nonpartisan candidates: Incumbent Delaine Eastin of San Francisco, Barbara Carpenter of La Jolla, Miles Everett of Healdsburg, Mark Isler of Van Nuys, Gloria Matta Tuchman of Santa Ana.

Running for a second term virtually unopposed, state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin concludes a first term in which education became a central issue of concern to voters — a period in which bipartisan interest in the troubled state of California schools became a rallying cry for her frequent nemesis, Governor Pete Wilson, who successfully pressed into place a hugely popular class-size reduction program that Eastin had championed, largely unsuccessfully, when she was a state legislator.

Eastin also completes a first term marred by intense bickering over testing and academic standards with the Wilson-appointed state Board of Education, which by law sets policy for the state’s schools, as well as festering disagreements with the state’s major education groups, which complain that she doesn’t consult them before taking action. The powerful California Teachers Association, which endorsed her in 1994, this time has made no endorsement in the primary, saying Eastin was favored by more than 50 percent of the organization’s state council, but that a 60 percent majority is required for endorsements. Neither did the CTA endorse in the races for governor or insurance commissioner.

Eastin’s only major opponent is Santa Ana teacher Gloria Matta Tuchman, a major proponent of Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education initiative on the June ballot. Tuchman, whose honorary campaign chairman is famed math teacher Jaime Escalante, ran against Eastin in 1994, coming in fifth in a field of 12 candidates. Other candidates in the nonpartisan primary are Barbara Carpenter, an educational career consultant from La Jolla; Healdsburg teacher Miles Everett; and



Eastin

Van Nuys teacher Mark Isler, who also lists his occupation as a "businessman/commentator."

Eastin, 50, a Democrat and former assemblywoman from Fremont, taught government and political science in several community colleges for eight years before becoming an executive for Pacific Telesis, then moving into local and eventually state politics. She holds a constitutional office with little real power — although she heads the state Department of Education, she does not control the schools' budget, which is primarily the purview of the governor and the Legislature. Her main role is that of the so-called "bully pulpit," and she has taken that pulpit throughout the state. As with some previous superintendents, she has developed a chilly relationship with the state board. She also has been criticized by Governor Pete Wilson over what he perceived as Eastin's failure to move with sufficient dispatch against school districts opposed to the governor's English-only testing plan. 🏠

— Sigrid Bathen

Board of Equalization



District 1 (52% D - 29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klehs of Castro Valley. **Libertarian:** Kennita Watson of Palo Alto.

A walkover for former Assemblyman Johan Klehs. Republicans didn't even field a candidate.

District 2 (42% D - 41% R) — Democrats: Joseph Micallef and Tom Santos of Elk Grove. **Republican:** Incumbent Dean Andal of Stockton. **Libertarian:** Richard enable.

No contest for Dean Andal, a former assemblyman. One of the two Democrats running against him, Joseph Micallef, CEO of a tax consulting firm and a former field auditor for the board, has run unsuccessfully twice before.

🔥 **District 3 (37% D - 45% R) — Democrats:** Mary Christian-Heising of La Jolla, Fred Clayton of Vista, Mark Spiegler of San Diego. **Republicans:** Patrick James Leone of Temecula, Claude Parrish of Rancho Palos Verdes, Andy Schooler of Del Mar, Jim Stieringer of La Mesa, Hal Styles Jr. of Desert Hot Springs and Craig Wilson of San Diego. **Libertarian:** J.R. Graham of San Diego. **Peace & Freedom:** Maxine Bell Quirk of Orange.

For the first time in 20 years, this district will not be represented by Republican Ernie Dronenburg. Yes, term limits clear so it the Board of Equalization as well. Dronenburg is trying to hand the seat to his chief of staff, Craig Wilson, but perennial Board of Equalization candidate Claude Parrish is offering a strong challenge in the GOP primary. Given the extremely low-profile nature of board races, Wilson has an advantage with his ballot designation: equalization board member's deputy. Wilson also enjoys the help of two other people named Wilson: GOP consultant Marty Wilson and Governor Pete Wilson, for whom Craig served as assistant secretary of the State and Consumer Services Agency. Craig



Schooler



Wilson

Wilson expects to spend \$300,000 on mailers and radio spots to try and connect with the eight million people in the district. Parrish, on the other hand, is trying to corner the market on slate cards to make his name familiar with voters. A board candidate for other districts in 1986, '90 and '94 — including a second place finish to Dean Andal in the District 2 GOP primary — Parrish has gotten his name on several important GOP slates. Parrish is trying to use the open primary as well to his advantage by getting his name on some Democratic slates. His endorsements include the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, Lew Uhler, former Governor George Deukmejian and Senate GOP Leader Ross Johnson. Parrish also expects to

spend upwards of \$250,000 on the primary. The GOP wild card may be Andy Schooler, who is said to have substantial personal resources and could make an impact on the race if he is willing to spend them. The other GOP candidates don't figure seriously in the hunt and, given the registration advantage Republicans enjoy in the district, it's likely the GOP candidate will prevail come November. Among the Democratic contenders is Fred Clayton, who became the bane of Assemblyman Howard Kaloogian's (R-Carlsbad) existence in 1994 and 1996 when he and his wife took turns challenging Kaloogian in Republican primaries and as write-ins in the 1996 general election. He has shown a willingness to spend his own money on campaigns but has said he won't self-fund this race.

🔥 **District 4 (56% D - 28% R) — Democrats:** Incumbent John Chiang of Chatsworth, Gregorio Armenta of Los Angeles, Gil Eisner, Jose Fernandez and Tyrone Vahedi of Los Angeles, Craig Freis of Santa Monica. **Republicans:** Joe Adams of Burbank, Khalil Khalil of Los Angeles. **Libertarian:** William Jennings of Pasadena. **Peace and Freedom:** Shirley Isaacson of Malibu. **Green:** Glenn Bailey of Encino.

This Democrat-dominated, Los Angeles-based seat was held throughout the 1990s by Brad Sherman, who has since moved on to Congress. Sherman's resignation prompted something of a power struggle between him and Governor Pete Wilson. Sherman claimed the power to name his successor and promptly chose his chief aide, John Chiang, to succeed him. Wilson had other ideas, believing that he was the one who should do the choosing. After some judicial saber-rattling, Chiang was allowed to stay in the post. As an acting member of the board, Chiang is technically an incumbent, and his organization and endorsement list certainly underscore that position. The only Democrat in a position to give him any kind of real challenge is Vahedi, an adviser with the board. Vahedi has drawn some independent attention as the author of the so-called "95-5" initiative, a measure sponsored by the United Teachers of Los Angeles that would restrict administrative spending in school districts. The poorly funded Vahedi presumably saw the initiative as his ticket to a spot on the Board of Equalization. But if he's serious about "95-5," he should probably devote his attention to it, as Chiang looks tough to beat in this race. 🏠

Southern Exposure

perspective

by Sherry Bebitch-Jeffe

The new czar in San Diego

"They keep coming."

The grainy images of figures racing across the Mexican border into San Diego County dominated California airwaves during the 1994 election campaign. They helped fan a growing political fervor to crack down on illegal immigration. And San Diego became Ground Zero in the anti-immigrant war.

In 1996, presidential candidate after candidate made the pilgrimage to the border, viewing with alarm its vulnerability and calling for tighter controls.

The Clinton administration's response came in the form of "Operation Gatekeeper," which sealed the border in western San Diego County and forced illegal immigrants to cross the harsh terrain to the east. Latino groups labeled this policy "inhumane and immoral."

Alan Bersin, the U.S. attorney for San Diego and Imperial counties, became the administration's "border czar." Bersin, who speaks Spanish fluently, has spearheaded a crackdown on illegal immigration and drug smuggling. Last March, in a stunning departure from tradition, Bersin was chosen to run the San Diego Unified School District, the second largest system in California and the eighth largest in the nation. He will take over in July from Superintendent Bertha Pendleton, a veteran of more than 40 years with the city's schools.

Why did San Diego's school board turn to a federal prosecutor with a reputation for dealing harshly with illegal immigration, and without experience in educational administration, to head a district in which more than one-third of the students are Latino?

San Diego follows a recent trend among large urban school districts; they are reaching out for candidates with nontraditional resumes to lead systems struggling with sinking test scores, strained infrastructure, and community frustration with the state of public education. Several years ago, Seattle hired a retired general to turn its schools around. And test scores have inched up.

Interestingly, it's a trend Los Angeles has bucked — despite a push by education reformers and business leaders to hire an unconventional leader to shake up the dysfunctional Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). Last year the school board flirted with an "outside" educator (a district superintendent of New York state schools) and a "business" candidate (a former banker with no background in educational administration), before opting for a consummate "insider" to helm LAUSD. The job went to then-Deputy Superintendent Ruben Zacarias, a 31-year veteran of the city's schools. Championed by a coalition of Latino activists, Zacarias became only the second Latino superintendent to head the district, whose population is heavily immigrant and almost 70 percent Latino. The son of Mexican immigrants, he

was touted as "an ideal role model for children of immigrants enrolled in the school district."

Bersin's appointment to the San Diego post sent a different message. Michael Casserly, executive director of the Council of Great City Schools, told the *San Diego Union Tribune* that, for districts which hire nontraditional superintendents, "The focus is on the bottom line, the focus is on results and the pressure to deliver is greater now than it has ever been."

Can Bersin's focus on "the bottom line" — change and improvement — outweigh the fallout from his hard stance against mostly Latino illegal immigrants? Speculation is his rise within the Justice Department was thwarted, at least in part, by anger in San Diego's Latino community over his aggressive approach to Operation Gatekeeper. Bersin's appointment as schools chief has drawn both support and opposition from Latinos. Some groups, including La Raza Lawyers Association, blasted it as "inappropriate and insensitive." Gloria Medina, the chair of the Chicano Federation of San Diego County was "ashamed and alarmed." "Like it or not," she wrote, "public schools are at the center of immigration politics."

But other Latino leaders, including San Diego City Councilmember Juan Vargas and La Mesa Mayor Art Madrid, threw their support to Bersin early on. Bersin is well-connected politically. A bona fide Friend of Bill (Bersin and President Clinton were at Oxford, as Rhodes scholars), the new superintendent knew Hillary Rodham Clinton at Yale Law School and Vice President Al Gore at Harvard. Bersin's wife, Lisa Foster, is the former head of California Common Cause and the scion of a family described by the *Union Tribune* as "at the center of the city's business, social, political and philanthropic circles."

As an educator, Bersin has daunting obstacles to overcome. Some of them reflect the fiscal and cultural challenges which any leader of any large, urban school district must face today. Others are unique to the San Diego experience and to Bersin's radical career change.

Can the former "border czar," charged with prosecuting immigrants who steal illegally across the border in search of a better life, effectively lead a school system which must provide its students — however they arrive — with the skills necessary to achieve that life? Bersin insists that he can.

"What is constant in both jobs," he told a San Diego reporter, "is a reverence for the rule of law. There is a 180-degree difference in some areas. As an educator, I will ensure that every child — whether they are undocumented or not — would have the right to attend public schools."

There are interesting times ahead for San Diego and for its new schools chief, as both face the challenge of charting the educational future of a complex New California. 🏠

Congress



District 1 (48% D - 33% R) —

Democrats: Jim Hennefer of Middletown; Mike Thompson of Napa. Republicans: R.J. "Jim" Chase of Willits; Mark Luce of Richmond. Libertarians: James Oglesby of Cloverdale; Emil Rossi of Boonville. Peace and Freedom: Ernest Jones Jr. of Ukiah.

What has been in past years a prolonged and expensive rally in a district that pings pongs between parties could wind up an easy ace instead. The establishment-backed state Senator Mike Thompson is the Democrats' dream candidate for a district home to both environmentalists and timber-industry workers worried about jobs. Democrat consumer attorney and wealthy rancher Jim Hennefer could stir up some sparks in the primary, irked that the Washington, D.C.-based Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has urged him to clear the way for Thompson. But the county endorsements — from all corners of this far-flung district — and political name ID belong to Thompson. GOP incumbent Frank Riggs opted not to face the popular senator this fall, choosing instead to make a brief appearance in the GOP primary for U.S. Senate before dropping out of that contest in mid-April. Riggs already lost the seat once in 1992 to then-Democrat Dan Hamburg and needed substantial help financing an advertising blitz to defeat electoral neophyte Michela Alioto in 1996. Riggs' defection left Republicans scrounging for a candidate, but they finally found a taker in Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce. Republican Jim Chase is not running an active campaign.

District 2 (39% D - 44% R) —

Democrat: Roberts Braden of Chico. Republicans: Incumbent Wally Herger of Marysville; Bob Todd of Big Bar. Natural Law: Patrice Thiessen of Mount Shasta.

Seeking a seventh term in the rural northeastern district, incumbent Wally Herger has little to fear from ultraconservative Bob Todd. Democrat Roberts Braden, who lost to Herger in 1996 by a good 58,000 votes, will take another crack at him in November.



District 3 (44% D - 40% R) —

Democrats: Sarb Basrai of Yuba City, Howard Beeman of Woodland, Sandra Dunn of Carmichael, Bob Kent of Yuba City. Republicans: Barbara Alby of Folsom, Nathan Arrowsmith of Red Bluff, Doug Ose of Sacramento, Charles Schaupp of Esparto. Libertarian: Ross Crain of Red Bluff.



Alby



Ose

The decision of veteran Democrat Vic Fazio last November to retire after two decades in office prompted a veritable stampede of candidates in a district becoming increasingly more conservative. Hardly had Fazio's resignation been revealed when Assemblywoman Barbara Alby announced her intention to run. Although sometimes difficult to categorize by traditional standards — she is well-regarded among many female legislators on both sides of the aisle for her strong stands against domestic violence — Alby's distinctly conservative views make many in the GOP leadership uncomfortable, and the slight Democratic registration edge may be amenable to a more moderate candidate. She was elected to the Assembly in a 1993 special election after the death of B.T. Collins, and was twice re-elected with more than 60 percent of the vote. Still, Fazio was taken to the limit in 1994 and 1996 by an ultraconservative Christian fundamentalist named Tim LeFever — races that cost the incumbent in excess of \$2 million. Alby, however, does not have a free ride into the finals. Doug Ose, who comes from a prominent family of Sacramento area developers and was a leader of successful incorporation efforts in suburban Citrus Heights, also has been active in military base reuse issues — a big-ticket item with resi-

dents stung by multiple base closures in the area — and is a member of the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Commission. He has the backing of Sacramento County Supervisor Dave Cox, who is running for Alby's Assembly seat, the Sacramento County Deputy Sheriffs Association and a host of local and state political and business leaders. Also seeking the Republican nomination are Yolo County farmer Charles Schaupp, who ran unsuccessfully against LeFever two years ago and is a member of the Esparto school board, and Nathan Arrowsmith of Red Bluff. On the Democratic side, Carmichael attorney Sandra Dunn, who specializes in water issues and has been endorsed by Fazio and Democratic Assemblywoman Helen Thomson, is the front-runner. Water is a major issue in the 3rd District, where debate has raged over flood control, dam safety and whether to build the Auburn Dam. The other known Democrat in the race is Howard Beeman, a Yolo County organic farmer who was a pioneer in developing farming techniques that do not use chemical fertilizers or synthetic pesticides. Other Democratic candidates in the crowded race are Sarb Basrai, a third-generation Yuba City farmer and former public defender, and Bob Kent, a Yuba City businessman and corporate trainer.

District 4 (37% D - 47% R) —

Democrat: David Shapiro of Garden Valley. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Roseville. Libertarian: Dan Winterrowd of Pilot Hill.

No contest for conservative Republican John Doolittle, although the Democratic candidate, medical social worker David Shapiro, has given the race an interesting twist. He plans to take no campaign contributions and is asking that all contributions be made instead to local community organizations and fraternal groups. He plans to raise \$300,000 to \$500,000.

District 5 (54% D - 30% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui of Sacramento. Republicans: Robert Dinsmore and Edward Gorre of Sacra-

mento. Libertarian: Douglas Tuma of Antelope.

Many local observers thought that Democrat Matsui would be the first Sacramento-area incumbent to retire, but Vic Fazio beat him to it.

District 6 (52% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republicans: Ken McAuliffe and Gisele Stavert of San Rafael. Natural Law: Alan Barreca of Santa Rosa.

Democratic registration has dropped a couple of clicks since last time around, but neither of the GOP prospects is positioned either money- or name-wise to give Woolsey much of a fight in November. Thus, the race between McAuliffe and Stavert is mostly for who gets bragging rights at the next GOP convention.

District 7 (60% D - 23% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Concord. Republican: Norman Reece of Vallejo.

Despite a slight trend in the district toward older voters, the relatively liberal Miller's 12 terms scare off any credible competition from either party.

District 8 (61% D - 14% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: David Martz. Natural Law: David Smithstein. All of San Francisco.

Pelosi won her 1996 general with 85 percent of the vote. She's untouchable by any measure.

District 9 (66% D - 12% R) —
Democrats: Greg Harper of Emeryville, Incumbent Barbara Lee and Randall Stewart of Oakland. Republican: Claiborne "Clay" Sanders of Oakland. Natural Law: Walter Ruehlig of Antioch. Peace and Freedom: Gerald Sanders of Oakland.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the East Bay Democratic strongholds of Oakland and Berkeley have been represented by Ron Dellums, one-time chair of the House Armed Services Committee and one of Congress' most liberal members. But Dellums' brand of liberalism got scant attention after the GOP took over Congress in 1994, and talk of a Dellums retirement began almost immediately after he won election to his 13th term in 1996. When the clatter about a Dellums retirement accelerated, several prominent Oakland pols took a look, including Mayor Elihu Harris. But it was clear Dellums was

bent on passing the torch to Barbara Lee, a state legislator who only two years ago won election to the state Senate. Dellums announced his support for Lee simultaneously with his announcement that he would not finish out his term, sending most prospective competitors elsewhere. Only Harper, an Emeryville councilman, and family services director Randal Stewart remained. Lee, dominant in both money and organization, made short work of them in the April special election to fill the vacated seat. The April victory allows her to run as an incumbent, even though she is not officially designated as one on the primary ballot.

 **District 10 (41% D - 42% R) —**
Democrat: Incumbent Ellen Tauscher of Danville. Republicans: Don Amador of Oakley, Charles Ball of San Ramon, Gordon Blake of Brentwood, Dave Williams of Livermore. Natural Law: Valerie Janlois of Danville. Reform: John Place of Walnut Creek.

When millionaire moderate Democrat Ellen Tauscher upset incumbent Bill Baker two years ago, it cost her more than \$2 million, \$1.4 million of it her own. She seemed destined to become Northern California's answer to Jane Harman — a Democrat in a "borrowed" district who would have to spend her own money year after year to hold the seat. But Tauscher's moderate voting record and membership in the centrist "New Dog Democrat" caucus brought her glowing press reviews at home and an air of electoral invincibility. The GOP tried to find a high-profile opponent. Oh, how they tried. Early recruiting efforts centered on recently retired San Francisco '49ers player Brent Jones and conservative local talk-show host Barbara Simpson. But Jones took a job with CBS Sports instead, and Simpson said she couldn't handle nine months without an income. With Baker ruling out another run, the GOP was left with second-tier opposition. Of the four Republicans in the race, Ball, a youthful national security analyst at Lawrence Livermore Laboratories, seems to have the most organization and enough money to at least make a stir. Williams likely has the most name identification, as he's been on the GOP ballot every year for the last decade. Blake, a longtime member of the GOP central committee, could

have some GOP connections. But none are believed able to get the kind of traction necessary to take out Tauscher, unless they get a lot of help from outside and it's an unbelievably good Republican year.

District 11 (46% D - 41% R) —
Democrat: Robert Figueroa of Manteca. Republican: Incumbent Richard Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Jesse Baird of Stockton.

Three-term Republican Richard Pombo is a conservative, cowboy-hatted, former Tracy city councilman and fourth-generation rancher who has repeatedly beaten back Democratic challengers. No difference this year. The Democratic candidate this time around is a Manteca real estate consultant, Robert Figueroa.

District 12 (54% D - 26% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Hillsborough. Republican: Robert Evans of San Francisco. Libertarian: Michael Moloney of San Mateo.

Evans' late filing was all that prevented Lantos from receiving a completely free ride in 1998.

District 13 (56% D - 26% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark of Fremont. Republican: James Goetz of Fremont. Natural Law: Karnig Beylikjian of San Jose.

The grand prize for gratuitous, below-the-belt hits was won by Stark's 1996 GOP opponent, who sent out a mailer showing a Stark look-alike talking to a woman identified as "Pete Stark's Whore." That opponent, university professor James Fay, is not around this time, nor is anybody else who can get close to beating the blunt-spoken liberal.

District 14 (47% D - 33% R) —
Democrats: Incumbent Anna Eshoo of Palo Alto and George Kieble of Los Altos. Republicans: John Haugen of Palo Alto and Henry Manzler of San Jose. Libertarian: Joseph Debn III of Stanford. Natural Law: Anna Currian of Los Altos.

Three-term incumbent Eshoo draws token primary opposition this time out, but nothing she can't handle. Her 1994 and '96 opponent, Ben Brink, opted out this time, but whether it's teacher Haugen or small-business owner Manzler, Eshoo is poised to cruise again in the fall.



District 15 (45% D - 37% R) —
Democrats: Dick Lane of San Jose, Connor Vlakancic of Los Gatos. Republican: Incumbent Tom Campbell of Campbell. Natural Law: Frank Strutner of Santa Clara.

Democrats' best chance to take this seat was in the special election held when former Representative Norm Mineta retired. Dick Lane, a San Jose State professor whose ballot designation also lists "father" as his occupation, was the Democratic sacrifice last time. He'll likely serve the same function again.

District 16 (52% D - 28% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Zoe Lofgren of San Jose. Republican: Horace Thayne of San Jose. Natural Law: John Black of Palo Alto.

Another easy ride for Lofgren.

District 17 (52% D - 29% R) —
Democrats: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel, Art Dunn of Monterey. Republicans: Mark Cares of Pacific Grove and Bill McCampbell of Monterey. Libertarian: Rick Garrett of Aptos. Natural Law: Scott Harley of Watsonville.

Incumbent Sam Farr once again faces little significant opposition, including yet another run at the seat by perennial Republican candidate Bill McCampbell, a lawyer who runs an international consulting business. The other Republican in the race is Mark Cares of Monterey, who lists his occupation as a cook.

District 18 (49% D - 36% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Gary A. Condit of Ceres. Libertarian: Ken Aaroe of Vernalis.

"Blue Dog" Democrat Gary Condit can turn his attention to meddling in other Central Valley races.

District 19 (41% D - 45% R) —
Republican: Incumbent George Radanovich of Mariposa. Libertarian: Jonathan Richter of Fresno.

The burning question: Can George Radanovich, going for a third term, hold off a late charge by Libertarian Jonathan Richter?

District 20 (53% D - 33% R) —
Democrats: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia, John Estrada of Fresno and Tom Vontz of Buttonwillow. Republicans: Devin G. Nunes of Pixley and Cliff Unruh of Reedley.

Visalia farmer Cal Dooley has represented the district since 1990, when he upset the Republican incumbent. Although Democratic registration has been steadily declining, and it is regarded as a swing district, Dooley has not been troubled come election time. Still, he's drawn primary opposition from a pair of Democrats. Dooley wields increasing influence in the House, however, as co-founder of the 43-member New Democrat Coalition of moderate and conservative House Democrats. On the Republican side, Cliff Unruh of Reedley, a longtime field representative for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, is running again after an unsuccessful 1996 bid. Also running on the Republican ticket is Pixley farmer and school trustee Devin G. Nunes.

District 21 (37% D - 48% R) —
Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. Reform: John Evans of Bakersfield.

Bill Thomas' influence among Central Valley Republicans continues to grow.

District 22 (41% D - 41% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Lois Capps of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Tom Bordonaro of Paso Robles and James Harrison of San Luis Obispo. Libertarian: Robert Bakhaus. Reform: Richard "Dick" Porter of San Simeon.

The November general election will see a rematch of the bruising special election fight in March that pitted Lois Capps, widow of former Representative Walter Capps, against Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro. After a plethora of TV ads paid for by independent expenditures representing special interests, Capps won by 8 points in this intensely competitive district. Bordonaro faces one other Republican in the primary, James Harrison, a San Luis Obispo physician and businessman.

District 23 (42% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Dan Gonzales. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly. Both of Simi Valley.

With the open primary this year, it's simple: Take the June results and use them as the rough guide to November. Gallegly both times.

District 24 (45% D - 39% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Brad Sherman of Sherman Oaks. Republicans: Joe Gelman of Van Nuys, Randy Hoffman

of Thousand Oaks, William Westmiller of Thousand Oaks. Libertarian: Erich Miller of Reseda. Peace and Freedom: Ralph Shroyer of Woodland Hills. Natural Law: Catherine Carter of Malibu.

This eastern San Fernando Valley district, which liberal Democrat Tony Beilenson held by the skin of his teeth until his retirement in 1996, has been on the national Republican target list throughout the 1990s. Yet, it always seems to wind up being held by Democrats. In 1994, an all-out GOP blitz in support of self-funded moderate Republican Rich Sybert fell short of beating Beilenson by two points. In 1996, when the seat was open, Sybert lost by a wider margin, though he held Democrat Brad Sherman to 50 percent. Now Sherman, the balding former Board of Equalization member who handed out campaign combs as a joke in 1996, is back as an incumbent, and the Republicans have recruited another deep pocket to run against him. Randy Hoffman is the co-founder and president of Magellan Systems, a company that manufactures satellite tracking devices for civilian and military use. Hoffman weighed in with roughly half a million dollars at the start, and expects to spend at least a million or more by the time it's all over. Hoffman has most of the national GOP establishment backing him and is positioning himself as a pragmatic conservative, pro-business but moderate on social issues. His opponents accuse him of being a dilettante who is fuzzy on the issues and is trying to buy the election. The most vocal critic is Joe Gelman, a conservative newspaper columnist for the *Los Angeles Daily News*. Gelman hasn't a hundredth of Hoffman's wealth, but he does have an endorsement that plays with conservatives — former GOP Senate candidate Bruce Herschensohn. Despite this help, the primary appears to be Hoffman's to lose. But his troubles will really begin in the fall campaign. It's relatively close in registration, but as swing districts go, it has a decidedly Democratic tilt, having supported both Boxer and Feinstein in 1992. And Sherman will certainly have some money of his own.

District 25 (38% D - 47% R) —
Republican: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Stevenson Ranch. Libertarian: Bruce Acker of Chatsworth.

Two years ago, McKeon attracted a

Republican primary opponent, albeit a fairly benign one. This year, he couldn't even goad a Democrat into opposing him.

District 26 (60% D - 24% R) —
Democrats: Incumbent Howard Berman of North Hollywood, Raul Godinez of San Fernando. Republican: Maria Armoudian of Granada Hills. Libertarian: Juan Carlos Ros of Studio City. Reform: Carlos Herreravillate of Van Nuys. Natural Law: David Cossak of Valley Village.

Despite his long tenure, Howard Berman always seems to draw primary opposition. From the outside, this year's challenger seemed to have at least some experience behind him, as Godinez is the mayor of San Fernando. But the challenge turns out to be a local dispute — Godinez was angered by a Berman anti-crime mailer which Godinez felt disparaged his city. A hopeless challenge to an 8-term incumbent seems a strange way to make a point.

District 27 (44% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Barry Gordon of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent James Rogan of Glendale. Libertarian: Bob New of La Canada.

With perennial Democratic challenger Doug Kahn having relocated to suburban Philadelphia, the Democratic field is clear for the candidate the party wanted to see run against Rogan two years ago. Barry Gordon, a one-time child actor and former president of the Screen Actors Guild, is considered a worthy challenger to Rogan, whose district is undergoing a demographic shift that doesn't work in his favor. Democrats believe this is a race to watch in November, but they'll have to beat not only some bad registration numbers but a Rogan strengthened by incumbency.

District 28 (41% D - 43% R) —
Democrat: Janice Nelson of Sierra Madre. Republicans: Incumbent David Dreier of San Dimas, Arnold Amaru of Covina. Libertarian: Jerry Douglas of Montrose. Green: Walt Sheasby of Sierra Madre. Natural Law: Lawrence Allison of Claremont.

Dreier draws token primary opposition, a rather poor way to repay one of the most influential Californians in the House.

District 29 (56% D - 25% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republicans: David Churchman, Mike Gottlieb of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Mike Binkley of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Karen Blasdel-Wilkinson of Santa Barbara.

Two-time GOP loser Paul Stepanek, who actually campaigned as a pseudo-Democrat in 1996, has stepped aside, leaving the field open for one of two new Republicans to get waxed by Waxman.

District 30 (62% D - 20% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra. Republicans: Patricia Parker, David Ramirez. All of Los Angeles.

Parker, who pulled a whopping 18 percent against Becerra in 1996, is back for more punishment, but at least she has a primary opponent she can pick on first.

District 31 (58% D - 25% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Matthew Martinez of Monterey Park. Republican: Frank Moreno of Alhambra. Libertarian: Michael Everling of Los Angeles. Green: Gary Hearne of Culver City., Krista Lieberg-Wong of Alhambra.

Once again Martinez avoids primary opposition, the only kind of opponent that will ever give him trouble in this heavily Democratic area. The eight-term Democrat will likely spend more time watching the doings of his two daughters — Diane and Susie — who are both looking to move up in their respective political careers.

District 32 (73% D - 13% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Republican: Laurence Ardito of Culver City. Libertarian: Vleko Milosevich of Los Angeles.

The only thing that would keep Dixon out of Congress would be retirement.

District 33 (67% D - 16% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Los Angeles. Republican: Wayne Miller of South Gate.

Roybal-Allard is as safe as they come.

District 34 (61% D - 25% R) —
Democrats: James Casso of West Covina, Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Ed Perez of Santa Fe Springs. American Independent: Walter Scott of La

Puente. Libertarian: Jason Heath of Los Angeles.



Casso



Napolitano

Incumbent Representative Esteban Torres seemed, for all the world, like a man with a lot of political life left in him. Although he'd been passed over for a post in the Clinton administration, Torres was the senior Latino in the California delegation and had a hammerlock on his middle-class district. So when Torres announced he was retiring two days before the close of filing for re-election, everyone was surprised. Well, just about everyone. The timing of Torres' resignation seemed designed to ensure a clear field for James Casso, his 39-year-old chief of staff, who also happens to be the congressman's son-in-law. But Torres' resignation also caught the eye of Grace Napolitano, a termed-out assemblywoman and former Norwalk mayor who had originally filed to run for state Senate. Since the Senate race — for the seat being vacated by Charles Calderon — would have pitted her against fellow Assemblywoman Martha Escutia, Napolitano saw the congressional race as a less painful and more attractive alternative. The two contenders both bring hefty endorsements and at least a theoretical capacity to raise money. Napolitano has the backing of many of her Sacramento colleagues, including Senator Richard Polanco and Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. But Casso has his share of Sacramento supporters, including Calderon, along with several Latino members of Congress and the mayor of Napolitano's home city of Norwalk. Casso is also hoping to capitalize on his boss' ties to the labor movement — Torres was once a United Auto Workers steward — and his early criticisms of Napolitano have centered around her support of fast-track authority for the president on the North American Free Trade Agreement. But labor support doesn't necessarily hold the same big stick in this district it wields in other Democratic strongholds, as many of the district's voters are middle-class, upwardly mobile Latinos. Napolitano has a history of

spending her own money to win elections, and with an election being held under federal campaign restrictions, such self-financing is likely to be needed again. But the real test will be whether Napolitano's more localized support base can be extended throughout the district against a challenger who is wrapping himself around the legend of his popular father-in-law.

District 35 (75% D - 11% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. **Republican:** Earl Smith of Inglewood. **American Independent:** Gordon Mego of Hawthorne.

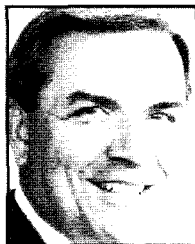
Nobody beats Maxine Waters. Nobody.

District 36 (42% D - 41% R) — Democrats: Janice Hahn of San Pedro, Nilo Micnehn of Redondo Beach. **Republicans:** Susan Brooks of Rancho Palos Verdes, Robert Klein of Redondo Beach, Steve Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes, Robert Pegrarn of Redondo Beach, Rudy Svornich of San Pedro. **Libertarian:** Kerry Welsh of Torrance. **Reform:** John Konopka of Los Angeles.

For the last six years, Republicans



Brooks



Kuykendall



Svornich

considered this coastal Los Angeles County district to have been on loan to moderate Democrat Jane Harman. The three-term incumbent seemed to have finally settled into a winning groove when Dianne Feinstein opted out of the governor's race, prompting Harman to opt in. With the seat now open, Republicans are ready to reclaim the seat carved out for them in the 1991 redistricting. The GOP primary features three credible contenders. The two "conventional" candidates in the race are Steve Kuykendall, a two-term assemblyman, and Rudy Svornich, a Los Angeles city council

member. Svornich has been in the thick of the battle over expansion of Los Angeles International Airport, perhaps the biggest regional issue in the district, and has a history of crossover support, having represented a council district that tilts Democratic. But only a sliver of that council district falls within the 36th, leaving Svornich without much of a regional base from which to run. Kuykendall's Assembly district overlaps more of the congressional territory, and the avuncular former Rancho Palos Verdes councilman has the backing of many of his Sacramento colleagues. But Kuykendall hasn't had an easy race yet, having barely won his 1996 re-election campaign. He is also still trying to wash out a negative stain — his acceptance of a \$125,000 last-minute contribution from tobacco giant Philip Morris. The best known of the three, at least among those who have voted in previous elections, is Susan Brooks, the former Rancho Palos Verdes councilwoman who has lost in two previous attempts to unseat Harman. Brooks has become something of a notorious figure, as her slash-and-burn campaign tactics in 1994 and 1996 alien-

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AROUND CALIFORNIA

1 REGULATION: California Poised To Lead Nation In Managed Care Reform

Managed care companies are bracing themselves for "an avalanche" of "major legislation" to be passed in California in coming months that could have national repercussions, the *Wall Street Journal* reports. "More than 100 measures are expected to be introduced in the next few months," the paper says. "The most pressing issues to be addressed are which state agency should be responsible for oversight of HMOs, dispute resolution, and information about what is and isn't covered by the various health plans." For million Californians, or roughly 60% of the state's residents.

New Laws

Dispute resolution will likely top the list of new reforms, according to the *Journal*. While Wilson's task force recommended an "unbiased" dispute review process, not yet focused on spend \$500 on dispute resolution for a test that costs \$100,000. The California Association of Health Plans, another major industry group, has gained the support of drug formulary lists to consumers.

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ated Republicans and Democrats alike and served to choke off her potential support and fund-raising base. For the most part, Svornich and Kuykendall have been focusing on each other — Svornich claims Kuykendall's position on gun control and local taxation make him too "liberal" for the district, while Kuykendall claims it is Svornich who is the liberal. Each is expected to raise more than enough to make their case in the mailboxes over the last six weeks of the campaign. While Brooks might not have the same financial resources, she does enjoy some natural advantages that could help her: She's considered a maverick, a trait that might appeal to the district's large bloc of independent voters, who will be casting primary ballots for the first time. Moreover, she's a woman running in a district that likes to elect women. But Svornich and Kuykendall are head and shoulders above the caliber of primary opponents Brooks has faced in the past. Translation: she'll need some money to be competitive. A Brooks primary win would be viewed as the best of all worlds to the presumptive Democratic nominee. The daughter of the late L.A. Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, Janice Hahn — who sits on one of the two L.A. charter revision commissions — has already lost one race to Svornich, having been beaten by him in a city council race. Brooks, on the other hand, would present an inviting target and could entice national party leaders to move the race higher on their electoral food chain.

District 37 (72% D - 12% R) —
Democrats: Incumbent Juanita Millender-McDonald of Carson and Amen Rahn of Long Beach. Republican: Saul Lankster of Compton.

The surprise victor in a hard-fought 1996 special election to fill the seat vacated by the conviction of former Representative Walter Tucker III, Millender-McDonald appears secure, drawing only token primary opposition this time out.

District 38 (51% D - 34% R) —
Democrat: Peter Matthews of Long Beach. Republicans: Incumbent Steve Horn of Long Beach, Margherita Underhill of Lakewood. Libertarian: David Bowers of Downey.

Peter Matthews, a perennial challenger to incumbent Steve Horn, lost a surprisingly nasty primary two years ago to openly gay attorney Rich Zbur,

who was subsequently beaten by Horn. Matthews is unopposed this time and Horn has only token opposition, setting the stage for a rematch of the 1994 contest between the two, also won handily by Horn.

District 39 (38%D - 47%R) —
Democrats: Charlie Ara of La Mirada and A. "Cecy" Groom of Cerritos. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Jack Dean of Fullerton. Natural Law: Ron Jevning of Tustin.

A Catholic priest turned social worker. A school board member whose campaign office opened only after a friend volunteered the office space. That's what Ed Royce has drawn for Democratic challengers. Needless to say, Royce won't be up late counting the Democratic returns.

District 40 (37% D - 47% R) —
Democrat: Robert Conway of Phelan. Republicans: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands, George Craig of Apple Valley. Libertarian: Maurice Mayben of Helendale.

Jerry Lewis' re-elections are a matter of clockwork.

District 41 (39% D - 45% R) —
Democrat: Eileen Ansari of Diamond Bar. Republicans: Incumbent Jay Kim of Diamond Bar, Jack Healy of Diamond Bar, Bob Kerns of Chino, Gary Miller of Diamond Bar, Pete Pierce of Yorba Linda. Green: Cynthia Allaire of Pomona. Libertarian: Kenneth Valentine of Alta Loma. Natural Law: David Kramer of Chino Hills.



Kim



Miller

Most politicians with any kind of track record also have political baggage — a bad vote here, an embarrassing campaign contribution there, a debate gaffe or two. But "house arrest" has to be one of the more unusual in California history, sort of the steamer trunk of political baggage. And so it is that incumbent Republican Jay Kim finds himself confined to his Washington, D.C. home through most of the 1998 primary season, the result of a conviction

for accepting and concealing illegal campaign contributions in connection with his first race for Congress back in 1992. He was sentenced March 11 to two months of house confinement — not in the district but in the east. The allegations that eventually felled Kim have been circulating for several years and always have provided campaign fodder for past primary opponents. But the Kim camp has repeatedly blown the allegations off with denials that no longer resonate in the face of his sentencing. That has opened the door wide for a crowded GOP field that includes businessman Bob Kerns, who twice lost to Kim in primaries. In 1996, Kerns grabbed 42 percent of the vote but is overshadowed in 1998 by the presence of two stronger Republican challengers — Deputy District Attorney Pete Pierce and Assemblyman Gary Miller. Miller would seem the front-runner, although his re-election to the Assembly in 1996 was less than impressive. He gained but 52 percent of the vote against an underfunded Democrat in a district that traditionally has been solid Republican. A former Diamond Bar councilman, Miller lost a bitter GOP primary for state Senate against Richard Mountjoy in 1994 but later earned high marks in Sacramento as chairman of the Assembly Budget Committee in 1996, when Republicans briefly controlled the lower house. He seeded his campaign with \$500,000. He's gained a long list of endorsements, including that of Attorney General Dan Lungren, who urged Kim to resign, Senator Jim Brulte and Treasurer Matt Fong. Pierce, an Orange County prosecutor, bills himself as a Christian conservative. He is the only major candidate from Orange County, which makes up 20 percent of the district. Kim, meanwhile, has had trouble raising money and reportedly has less than \$80,000 on hand — not much for what is shaping up as a bicoastal campaign effort.

District 42 (50% D - 36% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republicans: Rob Guzman of Fontana, Bernard McClay of Rancho Cucamonga, Elia Pirozzi of Alta Loma. American Independent: Hale McGee of Claremont. Libertarian: David Hollist of Alta Loma.

When George Brown first went to Congress, John Kennedy was president, Mickey Mantle, Hank Aaron and Willie Mays were still in their baseball

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prime and nobody ever heard of a Liverpool rock group called the Beatles. The year was 1962 and, with the exception of 1970, Brown has been re-elected every year since. In the decade of the 1990s, as Democratic registration in this corner of San Bernardino County slipped away, Republicans have regularly put Brown at the top of their hit list. And like clockwork, he's beaten back every challenge. He even survived 1994 — the year Republicans swept Democrats out of power in both Washington and Sacramento. His margin of victory over Republican Rob Guzman — 2,000-plus votes. That margin shrank to less than 1,000 votes in 1996 when Brown turned back an attractive local judge named Linda Wilde. Some observers thought Wilde would be back for another try in 1998, but she opted not to run. No such reticence on the part of Guzman, who is back for his third try. After narrowly losing to Brown in 1994, he finished a distant fourth to Wilde in 1996. A businessman and a Latino, he faces his toughest opponent in Elia Pirozzi, whose campaign is being handled by McNally-Temple of Sacramento. A conservative, he's pulled in endorsements from the likes of Senator Ray Haynes, former football star Christian Okoye, soccer star Cobi Jones and an endless list of local business luminaries.



District 43 (39% D - 46% R) —

Democrat: Mike Rayburn of Riverside. Republicans: Incumbent Ken Calvert of Corona, Cook Barela of Riverside, Joe Khoury of Riverside. Green: Phill Courtney of Riverside. Natural Law: Annie Wallack of Riverside.



Calvert



Khoury

Just when incumbent Republican Ken Calvert thought he'd seen the last of Joe Khoury, here comes the UC finance professor once again to gum up Calvert's summer vacation. In 1992, Calvert and Khoury finished 1-2 in a field of seven candidates in a hard-fought GOP primary for what was then a new, open seat. Two years later, the pair squared off by themselves, with by-then incumbent Calvert barely

squeaking through with a 1,000-vote victory out of 40,000 cast in the GOP primary. Khoury, a conservative, bashed Calvert over the incumbent, having been caught with a self-described prostitute by Corona police. That campaign was expensive and nasty. But Khoury did not surface in 1996 as Calvert breezed to his third term. Now, he's back and always has had plenty of money to toss around a campaign. Not only that, but a third Republican — retired police chaplain Cook Barela — has joined the fray. Barela last surfaced in 1992 when he finished second in a four-man race to eventual winner Ted Weggeland in an area Assembly primary. Barela joins Khoury on the right of Calvert, which is not good news for Khoury because it should split the conservative vote. The pair may hold Calvert to less than 50 percent of the GOP primary vote — even in a blanket primary — but neither likely will unseat him. The personal issues used against Calvert with some success back in 1994 have mostly faded from view.

District 44 (42% D - 44% R) —

Democrats: Anna Nevenich of Palm Springs, Ralph Waite of Palm Desert. Republicans: Mary Bono of Palm Springs, Tom Harney of Palm Desert, Bud Mathewson of Banning, John Overman of Temecula, Daniel Sprott of Hemet. Natural Law: Jim Meuer of Palm Springs.

This field has fought one battle already this spring with the special election in April to replace the late Sonny Bono, who was killed in a skiing accident over the winter. Mary Bono, widow of Sonny, cruised to victory in that contest with 65 percent of the vote, avoiding a runoff and likely making this primary an academic exercise. Actor Ralph Waite, he of "The Waltons" fame, was the top Democratic vote-getter in the special, but he weighed in with only 28 percent. The two are likely to win their respective primaries and square off again in November. This is Bono's maiden voyage on the political sea; Waite has run before, losing to former GOP incumbent Al McCandless by a narrow margin in the old 37th District in 1990.

District 45 (32% D - 51% R) —

Democrats: Lud Gerber and Patricia Neal of Huntington Beach. Republicans: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach, Charmayne

Bobman of Seal Beach and Long Pham of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Don Hull of Costa Mesa. Natural Law: William "Bill" Verkamp Jr. of Fullerton.

For the first time in six years the bombastic incumbent has drawn a primary challenge. Dana Rohrabacher has been especially vocal over a local district attorney's prosecution of campaign aide/wife Rhonda Carmony for her role in the 1995 recall scandal of Assemblywoman Doris Allen (see *CJ*, January 1996). That's why former Westminster City Councilwoman Charmayne Bohman has entered the race. Her consultant is Eileen Padberg, a moderate Republican who's clashed before with the local GOP power structure. Bohman thinks Rohrabacher's support in the district is slipping, but it will take Democratic support in the June open primary, Padberg admits, to knock off the incumbent. That's unlikely, given the presence of two Democrats in the race, realtor Patricia Neal and 87-year-old retired attorney Lud Gerber. Of the two, Neal is the better organized and funded, enjoying the support of the California Association of Realtors, which she served as president in 1994.



District 46 (45% D - 39% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Loretta Sanchez of Santa Ana. Republicans: Robert Dornan and Cornelius "Chuck" Coronado of Garden Grove, James "Jim" Gray of Santa Ana and Lisa Hughes of Orange. Libertarian: Thomas Reimer of Anaheim. Natural Law: Larry Engwall of Santa Ana.



Hughes



Dornan

Nowhere was the emergence of the Latino vote in 1996 more significant — and painfully scrutinized — than here. Loretta Sanchez knocked off one of the GOP's most polarizing figures, Bob Dornan, by only 984 votes. Initially, the Sanchez victory was as sweet as any for Democrats. Dornan — whose high-flying love of military programs was eclipsed only by his controversial remarks on homosexuality and abortion — was sent packing, while Sanchez

became an overnight celebrity. But no sooner did Sanchez claim victory than did Dornan begin his cry of "voter fraud" and claim the election was stolen from him. His repeated charges that illegal immigrants of Hispanic origin had participated in the election resulted in numerous investigations, by local and state election officials, the Orange County district attorney and a House subcommittee. Records and officials of a Hispanic voter outreach group — Hermandad Mexicana Nacional — were subpoenaed, and federal immigration records for the county were combed to see if Dornan's charges could be substantiated. The investigations, though, failed to produce sufficient evidence to have the election thrown out. Meanwhile, some Republican leaders began wringing their hands over the high profile scandal and wished for the whole thing — including Dornan — to just disappear. But the firebrand ex-congressman is still around and running for his old seat, despite being approached in February by leaders of the influential Lincoln Club to stay out of the race. Originally, there were four Republicans plus Dornan jostling for the nomination, until conservative Anaheim City Councilman Bob Zemel dropped out. Zemel's bid created some early media attention last year when he hired ex-Christian Coalition director Ralph Reed as his consultant. But a sudden recall threat aimed at Zemel — for his support of a special prosecutor to investigate local city officials — prompted him to get out and endorse Dornan. But not all of Zemel's supporters jumped behind Dornan — in fact many went to attorney Lisa Hughes, who chairs the State Lottery Commission. As a pro-choice woman, Hughes is seen by some as the best candidate to beat Sanchez in No-

vember. To get the nomination, though, Hughes has to vie with Superior Court Judge Jim Gray and former Cypress City Councilman Chuck Coronado for the "anyone-but-Dornan" vote among Republicans. Coronado is the GOP outsider trying to woo Latinos back into the party, while Gray — once viewed as the great moderate hope in the campaign — has had trouble raising money; his consultant, Sal Russo, is no longer on board. But those two could be enough to siphon votes away from Hughes and allow Dornan to capture the nomination. Sanchez, meanwhile, can cruise through the primary and build her campaign treasury. So far, she's raised more money than any of her potential GOP opponents — thanks to the assistance of Vice President Al Gore at fund raisers. If Dornan gets the GOP nod, even more Democratic money is likely to flow into the district to help Sanchez, which could apply even more heat to legislative races in the area (SD 34, AD 69). A Dornan campaign is likely also to galvanize the substantial Latino population (50 percent of district) into voting in even larger numbers than in 1996.

District 47 (29%D - 55%R) —
Democrat: Christina Avalos of Orange. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Victor Wagner Jr. of Mission Viejo. Natural Law: Paul Fisher of Costa Mesa. Reform: Raymond Mills of Tustin.

The only tough electoral concern Christopher Cox has faced recently was whether to abandon his comfortable GOP seat and challenge Barbara Boxer for the U.S. Senate. Given his chiseled good looks, sharp mind and immaculate party credentials, he might just have been the formidable candidate

Republicans had hoped to throw at the vulnerable Boxer. But Cox decided to stay put.

District 48 (26% D - 55% R) —
Republicans: Incumbent Ron Packard of Oceanside, James Luke of Temecula, Ed Mayerhofer of Lakewood. Libertarian: Daniel Muhe of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Sharon Miles of Monarch Beach.

Incumbent Ron Packard, who has served eight terms in Congress, periodically draws primary opposition. Businessman Ed Mayerhofer took a turn around this same block in 1994, getting a whopping 19 percent of the vote. He and businessman James Luke may share that 19 percent this time. A Democrat made noise about filing in this district, then stopped making noise.

District 49 (40% D - 39% R) —
Democrat: Christine Kehoe of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Brian Bilbray of Imperial Beach. Libertarian: Ernest Lippe of San Diego. Natural Law: Julia Simon of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Janice Jordan of San Diego.

This portion of San Diego will be quiet in June. Not so in November when San Diego City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe makes a well-funded run at two-term incumbent Brian Bilbray.

District 50 (49% D - 29% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego.

If incumbent Bob Filner emerges from this bruising fight unscathed, it will be a political miracle.

District 51 (30% D - 50% R) —
Democrat: Dan Kripke of La Jolla. Republican: Incumbent Randy Cunningham of Del Mar. Libertarian: Jack Anderson of San Diego. Natural Law: Eric Bourdette of Solana Beach.

Let's see. A popular, four-term incumbent running in a district where he enjoys a 20-point registration edge. Way out on the edge here, predicting a fifth term for Randy Cunningham.

District 52 (38% D - 44% R) —
Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Alpine. Libertarian: Lynn Badler of El Cajon. Natural Law: Adrienne Pelton of Del Mar.

Nine-term incumbent Duncan Hunter survived a few marginally tough races earlier in this decade. This year, he can relax. 🏠

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District 2 (51% D - 32% R) —

Democrats: Wes Chesbro of Arcata, Timothy Stoen of Mendocino. Republicans: John Jordan of Santa Rosa, John Pinches of Laytonville. Peace and Freedom: Brian Garay of Mendocino.

This so newhat quirky North Coast district has been nimbly represented since 1993 by moderate Democrat Mike Thompson. But with Thompson headed for a congressional run, Republicans saw an opportunity to steal the seat if the stars all lined up just right. Most GOP leaders see their star in John Jordan, a Santa Rosa businessman whose father owns the Napa Valley's Jordan Winery. The 25-year-old Jordan, who owns his own chain of local coffee shops, has spent the last three years getting himself on the executive boards of charitable institutions and otherwise building his bona fides, and early on he had already pumped about a quarter of a million dollars of family money into his campaign. Jordan's wealth and his moderate views on social issues have much of Sacramento's GOP leadership falling all over themselves with glee. But Jordan's primary opponent, Mendocino County Supervisor John Pinches, points to the array of conservative supporters and political consultants surrounding Jordan, suggesting he may be a "stalking horse" for the far right. Pinches, who sports a cowboy hat, is noteworthy for his support of the decriminalization of marijuana, representing one of the few regions of the state where such a stand is viewed as a potential political plus. A bigger problem for Pinches, though, is his refusal of any contribution above \$49 — an artificial limitation guaranteed to keep him from competing financially with Jordan. On the Democratic side, the clear favorite is Chesbro, a former Humboldt County supervisor, sits on the Integrated Waste Management Board. Stoen, who was the attorney for cult mass-murderer, the Reverend Jim Jones, is given little chance of winning. Republicans consider Chesbro a vulnerable opponent, particularly with Jordan as their candidate, and most expect this

race to be one of the most expensive contests of the fall campaign.

District 4 (45% D - 40% R) —

Democrats: Dominic De Bellis of Benicia; Mark DeSio of Davis. Republican: Incumbent Maurice Johannessen of Redding.

It's an uphill battle for Democrats attempting to unseat the twice-elected ultraconservative Johannessen. CalPERS employee Mark DeSio's connections could give him an edge in the primary; he directed Representative Vic Fazio's 1994 re-election campaign in the northern counties and has worked for state Senator Mike Thompson. He has the early edge over Dom De Bellis, a teacher, who ran a very distant second to Helen Thomson two years ago in the 8th Assembly District Democratic primary.



District 6 (46% D - 41% R) —

Democrats: Joan Barry of Fair Oaks and Deborah Ortiz of Sacramento. Republicans: Richard Davis of Sacramento, Mike McCollum of Sacramento and Chris Quackenbush of Rio Linda. Libertarian: Gerald Klaas of Carmichael.



Ortiz



Quackenbush

The retirement of incumbent Democrat Leroy Greene, a fixture on the Capitol scene for more than three decades, has sparked what promises to be a fierce contest in the increasingly conservative district, where Democratic registration has dropped from 51 percent and where GOP registration has surged up from 35 percent since 1996. One-term Assemblywoman Deborah Ortiz, a lawyer, former Sacramento City councilwoman and longtime legislative staffer, is the odds-on Democratic favorite, but she faces a much stiffer fight

for this seat than for the heavily Democratic 9th District Assembly seat she currently holds. Her Democratic opponent is Joan Barry, executive director of Serve Our Seniors and an unsuccessful candidate for the Assembly in the 5th District in 1992 and 1994. On the Republican side, the clear favorite is Chris Quackenbush, a successful businesswoman and wife of state Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush. The owner of Ski Park Boat & Ski, a boat dealership and water ski school, she has run several companies over the years and was chair of the Silicon Valley Council of the American Electronics Association for three years. Given her GOP connections, she has been endorsed by a host of present and former Republican officeholders, including her husband. In terms of name recognition — it's a hard name to forget — and party support, she clearly outdistances the other major Republican candidate, businessman Michael McCollum, who served as deputy secretary for the Resources Agency and chief deputy director of the Department of Fish and Game in the Deukmejian administration. He served on the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission and Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. The other Republican candidate, Richard Davis, owns the "How's It Hanging Closet Company" in Sacramento.

District 8 (56% D - 23% R) —

Democrats: John Riordan of San Francisco, Jackie Speier of Daly City. Republican: Jim Tomlin of San Mateo.

The term-limit-imposed departure of independent Senator Quentin Kopp paves the way for Jackie Speier's return trip to Sacramento. Speier, who served in the Assembly for a decade before being shunted aside by term limits in 1996, has a bushel basket of Sacramento contacts and can overwhelm attorney John Riordan in fund raising, organization and endorsements. She should have an even easier time disposing of Republican Jim Tomlin in the fall.

District 10 (53% D - 29% R) —

Democrats: Lindy Batarra and Liz Figueroa of Fremont, Mike Sweeney of Hayward. Republican: Bob Gough of Milpitas.



Figueroa



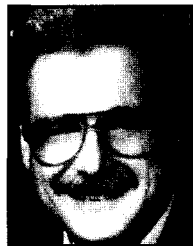
Sweeney

It is the classic term-limit match-up: two Assembly members, representing adjacent districts nested within a single Senate seat, running against each other to replace the termed-out senator. In this case, the term-limit victim is former Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward), who is running for attorney general. The two nested combatants are Assembly members Liz Figueroa and Mike Sweeney, whose adjoining Contra Costa County Assembly districts meet up in Pleasanton. As individuals, the two couldn't be more different. Figueroa is one of the Legislature's most gregarious members while Sweeney is, at times, quiet almost to the point of invisibility. But the two share an almost identical voting record and close ties with Lockyer who, at least initially, is remaining neutral. Sweeney, the former mayor of Hayward, has been active on local government issues and as a result has picked up the lion's share of local endorsements, including the mayor of Figueroa's home city, Fremont. Figueroa's base of support comes largely from legislative colleagues, and her advocacy of physician discipline reform has also earned her supporters in the business and health communities. She out-raised Sweeney in the early going. The two describe themselves as friends, and each has vowed not to hit the other below the belt. But given the obvious competitiveness of the race, it seems inevitable the two will clash before the primary is finished. The only saving grace is that whoever survives the primary will cruise in the fall, as the district's registration virtually assures Democratic control.

District 12 (46% D - 39% R) —

Democrat: Sal Cannella of Ceres. Republican: Incumbent Richard Monteith of Modesto. Libertarian: Mary Lee Gowland of Coarsegold.

Former Assemblyman Sal Cannella, who was termed-out in 1996, is making a run for the Senate seat currently held by Republican Richard Monteith, a conservative Republican who rode the 1994 Republican wave to beat incumbent Democrat Dan McCorquodale. Given the district's electoral history and Cannella's experience, both sides will spend heavily here in November. The primary, however, will be a quiet affair.



Cannella

District 14 (38% D - 48% R) —
Republican: Charles "Chuck" Poochigian.

No contest, literally, for popular Fresno Assemblyman Charles "Chuck" Poochigian to succeed termed-out veteran Republican Ken Maddy.

District 16 (53% D - 33% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa of Fresno. Republican: Gregg J. Palmer of Fresno.

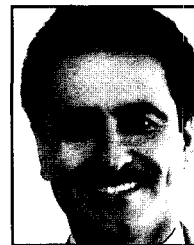
On paper, this looks like a cake walk for incumbent Democrat Jim Costa — steep registration edge, huge fundraising lead. Don't be fooled by appearances. Some folks think Republicans will apply a blow torch to this district come fall.

District 18 (42% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Gordon Klemm of Arroyo Grande. Libertarian: Jack Ray of Goleta.

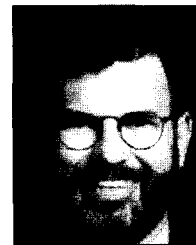
In a perfect world, Republicans would make a run at incumbent Democrat Jack O'Connell. But this coastal slice of territory is ideal for the incumbent, who has raised precinct walking to an art form ever since his first election to the Assembly way back in 1982. Republican Gordon Klemm, a PG&E engineer, ran unsuccessfully in the 1992 Republican primary for the 22nd Congressional District and has reported less than \$1,000. Republicans may seed his campaign with some cash come the fall, if only to try to pin O'Connell's money in the district.

District 20 (57% D - 26% R) —
Democrats: Richard Alarcon of Sun Valley, Richard Katz of Sylmar. Republican: Ollie McCaulley of Sun

Valley. Libertarian: Linda Starr of Valley Village.



Alarcon



Katz

The Democratic race to replace termed-out Senator Herschel Rosenthal is, by most accounts, the most competitive Senate primary in the state this year — a leadership showdown played out in the precincts of the San Fernando Valley. In one corner is former Assembly Democratic leader Richard Katz, whose 12-year legislative career was interrupted in 1996 by term limits. Katz is the preferred candidate of current Senate President pro Tempore John Burton. In the other corner, Los Angeles city councilman Richard Alarcon, the first Latino from the San Fernando Valley to win election to the council. Alarcon is the candidate of Senator Richard Polanco, defeated in the pro tem fight this year but apparently hankering for a rematch. The two candidates have represented similar portions of the district, and their positions on most major issues affecting the state are virtually identical. But the contrasts between the two are less about policy than about personality and background. Although he has run for municipal offices — most notably an unsuccessful run for mayor — Katz is essentially a product of the Legislature. His Senate campaign was seeded by more than \$130,000 transferred from his Assembly campaign accounts. Alarcon's base, meanwhile, centers in the wheeling and dealing of L.A. city politics. His endorsement list includes L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan, much of organized labor, and the LAPD Police Protection League. Alarcon also seeks to capitalize on the demographic trends in the northern and eastern portions of the Valley. These trends not only led to his election to the council but also to the election of the Valley's first Latino legislator, Tony Cardenas, who incidentally is backing Katz. Katz' Assembly transfer gave him the early edge in fund raising and he looked poised to swamp Alarcon in the money race. But a huge February fund raiser sponsored by Riordan boosted Alarcon's first-quarter fund raising ahead

of Katz', although Katz still had the edge in cash on hand. Katz was also the first to hit the streets with a mailer and sought to take the offensive by proposing a "clean campaigning" pledge, a challenge dismissed by Alarcon as a stunt. While both men have vowed to avoid personal attacks, each has hired political consultants known for a willingness to hit hard — for Katz, it's L.A.-based Harvey Englander; for Alarcon it's Sacramento-based Richie Ross. All signs point to a campaign that is nasty, brutish and expensive, but in the end, the result may turn more on where the votes are. Katz is expected to have a significant edge among voters in the southern and western portions of the district — that makes up the 40th Assembly District — with their heavier concentrations of white, liberal, somewhat more affluent voters. Alarcon's base is in the more blue-collar area encompassing the 39th, with its higher concentration of Latino voters. Alarcon figures to benefit from a voter registration drive which hopes to register 35,000 Latinos in the Valley. But Katz' 16 years representing the 39th District will allow him to compete for those votes as well,

particularly with Cardenas in his corner. If he's able to at least stay even in his old stomping grounds, Katz' strength in the more affluent part of the district should carry him over the top. But if Alarcon is able to build momentum, there will be little margin for error in Katz' electoral calculus.

District 22 (64% D - 18% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Richard Polanco. Peace and Freedom: Muffy Sunde. Both of Los Angeles.

Without even a Republican to challenge him, Polanco is spending most of his primary attention on empire building, most notably in the above-mentioned 20th District.

District 24 (58% D - 25% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Hilda Solis of El Monte. Republican: Carl Taylor of La Puente. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Rosemead.

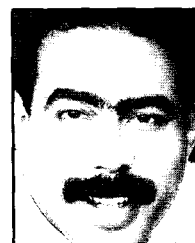
Solis goes solo in the primary, and should solidify her seat in November.

District 26 (76% D - 10% R) —
Democrats: Marguerite Archie-Hudson and Addie Miller of Los Angeles; Kevin

Murray of Culver City. Republican: MacLane Key of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City.



Archie-Hudson



Murray

The contest to replace termed-out Senator Diane Watson features two familiar names — one looking to move up and the other looking to move back to Sacramento. Moving up would be termed-out Assemblyman Kevin Murray, whose Assembly district comprises roughly two-thirds of the voting population in the Senate district. Looking to move back is Marguerite Archie-Hudson, who was claimed by term limits two years ago. Archie-Hudson currently holds the unique distinction of serving on both L.A. charter reform commissions — one organized by the City Council and another put together by

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Mayor Richard Riordan. Her service on that board didn't cut it with the mayor, though. Riordan is backing Murray, as are most of the usual suspects — Representative Maxine Waters; Assemblyman Rod Wright, Archie-Hudson's legislative successor; and Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Although she was active in education issues during her time in Sacramento, Archie-Hudson could do no better than a split endorsement from the United Teachers of Los Angeles. But she does have one big prize — the backing of Watson, the outgoing incumbent. That support has helped her stay within striking distance in fund raising, though Murray still leads that department by a substantial margin. Murray has also secured spots on most of the district's slate mailers, including an influential slate put out by his father, former Assemblyman Willard Murray. Those slates, and Murray's natural edge in his voter-rich Assembly enclave, could spell the difference, unless Archie-Hudson hits some kind of fund-raising lottery.

District 28 (51% D - 32% R) —

Democrats: Debra Bowen of Marina Del Rey, James Isaac of Redondo Beach. Republican: Asha Knott of Lake Forest.

As the Democratic assemblywoman of an independently minded swing district (AD 53), Bowen seemed always to be wearing a target. But when term limits felled ageless veteran Senator Ralph Dills, Bowen had a chance to move into a district with a little more Democratic head room. She is expected to have no trouble in the primary. For a while, it appeared the GOP would have a contested primary. Manhattan Beach Councilman Steve Napolitano — a moderate Republican — was recruited by then-Senate Republican Leader Rob Hurtt to take on Bowen. But while he had leadership behind him, he didn't have enough GOP petition signatures, falling three short of the 40 needed to file his campaign papers. Thus the field was left to businesswoman Asha Knott, whose only chance at beating Bowen would come in the event of a massive Republican landslide.

District 30 (65% D - 21% R) —

Democrat: Martha Escutia of Commerce. Republican: John Robertson of South Gate. Libertarian: John McCready of Whittier.

Early on, the Democratic primary to replace termed-out Senator Charles

Calderon was shaping up as a humdinger. The two nested Democratic Assembly members — Martha Escutia and Grace Napolitano — both pulled papers and set about gathering support. But Escutia got a lucky break when CBS News did a national story on her legislation aimed at curbing job discrimination based on age. That piece, along with some nifty flanking maneuvers on endorsements, gave Escutia a leg up. When fate again intervened, in the form of the retirement of Representative Esteban Torres, Napolitano decided to shift gears and run for Congress. End result: Escutia runs unopposed and cruises into the Senate in the fall.



District 32 (50% D - 35% R) —

Democrats: Paul Avila of Ontario, Joe Baca of Rialto. Republican: Eunice Ulloa of Chino. Libertarian: John Ballard of San Bernardino.

With longtime incumbent Democrat Ruben Ayala termed out, Assemblyman Joe Baca is attempting to move into the upper house. Early polls show him with a commanding lead over his primary opponent, Ontario-Montclair School Board Member Paul Avila. Avila is no newcomer, having run a credible if losing effort in 1996 against Republican Assemblyman Fred Aguiar in the 61st District. But the real contest here will come in November when Baca takes on Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa. Although registration favors Democrats, Republican candidates have done well here in the 1990s. Even Michael Huffington carried the district against Dianne Feinstein in the 1994 Senate contest. Senate Republicans have put this district at the top of their 1998 target list, which automatically puts it at the top of the Democrats' list as well. The fire next time.

District 34 (44% D - 40% R) —

Democrat: Joseph Dunn of Laguna Niguel. Republican: Incumbent Rob Hurtt of Garden Grove.

At first glance this is a no-brainer for June, and possibly November. After all, the incumbent is millionaire Rob Hurtt, co-founder of the Allied Business PAC and former Senate Republican leader. Hurtt resigned his leadership post two months ago to spend more time on family and business affairs and on getting re-elected. And though his district isn't as GOP-comfy as some Orange County seats, Hurtt has had no

trouble winning before by large margins in November. But a large chunk of this seat is nested in the 46th Congressional District, where a major battle is brewing between Democratic incumbent Loretta Sanchez and Republicans. That battle royal could stir up the Latino vote, which wasn't a factor in Hurtt's 1994 re-election. With 44 percent of the district Latino, Senate Democrats may consider taking a shot at Hurtt once the June primary is over. But only if consumer attorney Joseph Dunn can show them something to invest in.

District 36 (36% D - 49% R) —

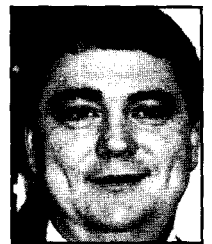
Democrat: George Swift. Republican: Incumbent Ray Haynes. Both of Riverside.

Not much of a challenge for incumbent Ray Haynes.

District 38 (30% D - 51% R) —

Democrat: Madelene Arakelian of Laguna Hills. Republican: Bill Morrow of Oceanside. Libertarian: Paul King of Oceanside. Natural Law: Barbara Blair of Encinitas.

Gentlemanly Bill Craven, a moderate Republican, is in the last year of a 25-year legislative career thanks to term limits. Craven is one of the most liked and respected members of the Legislature, but he's been mostly absent from Sacramento the past two years due to ill health. Bill Morrow, who is termed out in the Assembly, is the Republicans' anointed successor. Morrow, unlike Craven, is a staunch conservative who doesn't shy away from a good partisan fight. Democrat Madelene Arakelian, who lost badly to Senator Ross Johnson in 1996, has taken on yet another GOP-dominated seat where another drubbing awaits.



Morrow

District 40 (45% D - 35% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace of El Cajon. Republican: Bob Divine of La Mesa. Libertarian: David Graham of San Diego.

No one knows San Diego politics quite as well as incumbent Steve Peace, seeking his final term in the Senate. Republicans made noise early on about challenging Peace, but that noise likely won't get very loud. 🏠

Assembly



District 1 (50% D - 31% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin of Duncan Mills. Republican: Sam Crump of Sebastopol. Peace and Freedom: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.

As a newcomer in 1996, Strom-Martin needed the heavy support of both the California Teachers Association and Assembly Democrats to get through the primary and beat Republican Marg e Handley. Sebastopol Councilman Crump expects some help from Handley, and the November race could heat up due to sparks from the overlapping 2nd Senate District, which both parties cover.

District 2 (39% D - 45% R) —
Democrat: Francie L. Sullivan of Palo Cedro. Republicans: Art Brandwood of Yuba City, Richard Dickerson of Redding. Libertarian: Pete Bret of Redding.

This increasingly conservative and geographically huge rural district, where Democratic registration has dropped 2 points since the 1996 primary, has drawn a pair of Republicans with strong law enforcement credentials — Sutter County Sheriff Brandwood and Shasta County Supervisor Dickerson — as well as Democrat Sullivan, chair of the Shasta County Board of Supervisors. Brandwood has the endorsement of the current incumbent, Republican Tom Woods, who decided not to run for a third term, as well as from a host of other conservative legislators, present and former, two area congressmen, John Doolittle and Richard Pombo, and numerous law enforcement groups and officials. A 37-year career police officer, he has been sheriff of Sutter County since 1991. Dickerson, a longtime former lawman in the Riverside Police Department and state Department of Justice, was appointed by Governor Pete Wilson to fill a vacancy on the Shasta County Board of Supervisors in 1994, and then ran unopposed for the seat. He, too, has numerous law enforcement and legislative endorsements, including former area state legislators Jim Nielson and Stan Statham. Dickerson

backers insist he has an edge over Brandwood because he is "funded, endorsed and popular in the vote-rich part of the district."

District 3 (39% D - 44% R) —
Democrat: Scott Gruendl of Chico. Republicans: Sam Aanestad of Grass Valley, David Reade of Chico.



Aanestad



Reade

The two GOP contenders are jockeying for the title "most conservative" to gain this northeastern corner district long held by termed-out GOP Assemblyman Bernie Richter. Reade, one-time campaign manager and now chief of staff and son-in-law to Richter, has Capitol connections and backing from several county party leaders, as well as endorsements from Representative Richard Pombo, local government and law enforcement officials. He has also served as chairman of the Butte County Republican Party. Aanestad, an oral surgeon and former school board chairman, has his own hefty list of endorsements along with substantial name ID, having made a respectable showing against Richter in the 1992 primary. He has backing from some political poohbahs, including Representative John Doolittle and Assemblyman Curt Pringle. Democrat Scott Gruendl, a former Chico Planning Commission chair, can only brace himself.

District 4 (37% D - 48% R) —
Democrat: Mark Norberg of Roseville. Republicans: Incumbent Thomas "Rico" Oller of San Andreas, Ray Nutting of Placerville. Libertarian: Bob Mulvany of Murphys.

One of the most conservative districts in the state seated with one of the most conservative incumbents, the 4th could still end up as a blanket-primary

test case. The 1996 primary struck some all-time lows, with nasty rumors, mud-filled mailers and an alleged bribery attempt. Oller's Democratic opponent in '96, Erike Young, is actively recruiting Democrats to cross over to Republican moderate Nutting — a ploy endorsed by Democrat Norberg. Whether businessman and rancher Nutting, a six-year member of the El Dorado County Board of Supervisors, can muster funds to seriously challenge Oller is another matter. Last time around, Oller had the personal resources and the Sacramento connections to stomp out any challenges. This time, he's also an incumbent. Even open-heart surgery, which Oller had in April, won't slow him down unless the crossover is substantial.

District 5 (40% D - 44% R) —
Democrats: Linda Davis of Fair Oaks, John Molina of Orangevale. Republicans: Dave Cox of Fair Oaks, Sandee Felley of Elverta, Sam Paredes of Folsom, David Pickett of Folsom. Libertarian: Gene Frazier of Sacramento.

A crowded field of candidates has emerged for the seat left vacant by termed-out Republican Barbara Alby, who is running for Congress. The best-known is Cox, a Sacramento County supervisor whose district covers two-thirds of the Assembly district and who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1996, receiving 46 percent of the vote against longtime incumbent Democrat Leroy Greene. Cox actually beat Greene in this part of the Senate district. He begins the race with more than \$100,000 cash on hand, having raised \$180,000. He has been endorsed by, among others, Sacramento County Sheriff Glen Craig, District Attorney Jan Scully, one current and two former Folsom mayors, and other state and local officials. Also running is Republican businessman Paredes of Folsom, a former Deukmejian and Wilson administration official whose



Cox

honorary campaign chairman is Dennis Alby, husband of Barbara. Paredes has the backing of numerous conservative Republican legislators as well as the California Republican Assembly and the Young Republican Federation of California. Democrats in the heavily Republican district include Davis, a director of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.

District 6 (52% D - 29% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Kerry Mazzoni of San Rafael. Republicans: Peter Romanowsky of Sausalito, Ed Sullivan of San Anselmo, Russ Weiner of Sausalito. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Perily of San Rafael.

Democrat Mazzoni goes for her third and final term, and, given the less-than-sterling GOP registration in this Marin County district, she likely won't have much of a sweat. On the GOP side, how can you get better name recognition among vote-heavy boomers than "Ed Sullivan?"



District 7 (53% D - 31% R) —

Democrats: Ernie Demuth of American Canyon, John Latimer of Santa Rosa, Deborah Russell of Napa, Pat Wiggins of Santa Rosa. Republican: Bob Sanchez of Napa. Libertarian: Mike Rodrigues of Napa. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sulley of Glen Ellen.



Latimer



Russell

With term limits about to end her legislative career, incumbent Democrat Valerie Brown hopes to hand her Wine Country seat off to John Latimer, her Capitol chief of staff. But handoffs are seldom as easy as they once were, since incumbents no longer wield the clout necessary to clear the field. In this case, Latimer faces not one but two credible challengers. The strongest of the pair is Russell, a Napa County realtor with a reasonably sized bankroll. Russell's entry into the race slowed Latimer's endorsement march through the Legislature and occasioned some of his early endorsers to switch to dual endorsements. Wiggins, a Santa Rosa councilwoman,

staked herself to a \$30,000 loan, but had already begun paying it back shortly after the campaign finance reporting period closed, a warning flag for a campaign. For his part, Latimer has been effective at raking in money from the usual Sacramento suspects, reporting more than \$100,000 by the end of March. But Russell's camp believes it can paint Latimer as something of an interloper, since his time with Brown has largely been spent in Sacramento rather than in the district. Waiting in the wings is Sanchez, a businessman who flirted with a run for the state Senate before switching over to the Assembly.

District 8 (50% D - 33% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Helen Thomson of Davis, Michael Hayes Jr. of Benicia. Republicans: Deanna Myhre of Vacaville, Toni Thompson of Woodland.

Incumbent Thomson, a former psychiatric nurse, has no significant Democratic opposition in her bid for a second term. A three-term Yolo County supervisor and 12-year veteran of the Davis School Board, she faces Hayes, a 25-year old Maritime Academy student. On the GOP side, attorney Myhre, a former staffer to Democratic state Senator Barry Keene, is past chair of the Solano County Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Commission. Thompson is a Woodland city planning commissioner who co-owns a heating and air-conditioning business.



District 9 (60% D - 23% R) —

Democrats: Leslie Cochren, Frances Gracechild, Alice Huffman, Robert Pernell and Darrell Steinberg. Republicans: Irma Belmontes-Boreman and Mike Dismukes. All of Sacramento.

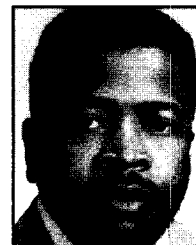
The race to succeed incumbent Democrat Deborah Ortiz, who is running for state Senate, will be decided in the Democratic primary and, as a result, a host of Democrats have taken the plunge. Perhaps the best-known is Steinberg, a lawyer, administrative law judge and the Sacramento councilman responsible for a city ordinance banning the sale of so-called "junk" guns. He has been endorsed by Ortiz, Mayor Joe Serna Jr., Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and numerous other local officials, civic leaders and labor unions. Public-affairs consultant Huffman, a former California Teachers Association lobbyist, also boasts an impressive list of supporters — San



Gracechild



Huffman



Pernell



Steinberg

Francisco Mayor Willie Brown Jr., former Attorney General John Van de Kamp and former Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley — but not much of a political base in the district. Huffman, who served in the Jerry Brown administration and chairs the state Black American Political Association, did not earn the nod from her former employer, however. The CTA endorsement went to Steinberg. Huffman also is hampered by the fact that she is not the only African-American in the race in a district with a substantial black voting population. Pernell, a member of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District board, is carrying the mantle of the late Sam Pannell, a city councilman and community icon among blacks who died earlier this year. Pannell was expected to make this race, and Pernell has been endorsed by his widow. Pernell also has received several endorsements from labor groups, including the Central Labor Council. He is the founder of Meadowview Community Action, a nonprofit group which operates Head Start, job training and other programs. The Democratic field is rounded out with Cochren, a certified fraud examiner, and Gracechild, a health care activist who is director of the nonprofit Resources for Independent Living. The top three Democrats — Steinberg, Pernell and Huffman — all have raised in excess of \$65,000 each. Steinberg already has phone banks running, while Huffman has been the beneficiary of at least one Willie Brown fund raiser. Steinberg, on the other hand, doesn't get much of a boost from his council seat, which overlaps with only a small portion of the Assembly district.

District 10 (43% D - 43% R) —

Democrats: Debra Gravert and Ken Price of Elk Grove. Republicans: Rolfe Appel of Sacramento, John Gillis of Rancho Murieta, Alan Nakanishi of Lodi, Robert "Bob" Neilson of Sacramento, Bruce Nelson of Sacramento, Phillip Pennino of Lodi, Anthony Pescetti of Rancho Cordova, Joseph Piazza of Sacramento and Toros Saraydarian of Wilton. Libertarian: Tom Kohlhepp of Lodi.



Pennino



Pescetti

With incumbent Republican Larry Bowler term'd out, a flood of candidates, mainly Republicans, have joined the fight to represent this conservative-leaning area of southern Sacramento and northern San Joaquin counties. Democrat Matt Moretti, son of the late Speaker Bob Moretti, came within 4 points of taking Bowler out in 1996, but Moretti decided not to run again, leaving the uphill chore to two Democrats with limited name recognition — Gravert, a longtime legislative staffer who is currently chief of staff to Assemblyman Dick Floyd, and Price, a former deputy state insurance commissioner and owner of an insurance and real estate firm. If past is prologue, the GOP primary should produce the eventual winner, and that field includes: Pescetti, a director of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District and principal in a corporate consulting firm, who has raised some \$100,000, including a \$75,000 loan from a family business; Pennino, a Lodi councilman who has reportedly raised about \$50,000, including \$7,500 from developer Alex Spanos; Nakanishi, a Lodi physician who spent time as a young child in the Tule Lake internment camp curing World War II and who has received contributions from area medical groups and also from Spanos; Gillis, a retired LAPD lieutenant who has been a member of the state Board of Prison Terms since 1991; and Piazza, a Clarksburg principal and former Senate staffer. Other Republicans with somewhat less visibility are Appel, a sheriff's lieutenant; Neilson, a

retired correctional sergeant; Nelson, a contractor; and Saraydarian, a veterinarian. Pennino and Pescetti have emerged in the early going, with Pennino banking on his electoral prowess in Lodi, which includes about a quarter of the district's registered voters. This is Pescetti's second try for the seat, having run against Bowler in the 1992 primary, when the 10th was an open seat. He finished fourth out of five GOP candidates. His wife owns a direct-mail firm — Admail/West — which should help him keep his flyers in district mailboxes.

District 11 (53% D - 30% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Torlakson.
Too close to call.

District 12 (58% D - 17% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Kevin Shelley. Republican: Mike Fitzgerald. Both of San Francisco.

Shelley, the new Democratic floor leader, will be spending most of his fund-raising time helping other, more endangered caucus members.

District 13 (62% D - 13% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Carole Migden. Republican: Randy Bernard. Both of San Francisco.

California Journal's "Rookie of the Year" has nothing to worry about at home and will spend her time helping others, as she did in 1996 when running unopposed.

District 14 (68% D - 11% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Dion Aroner of Berkeley. Republican: Jerald Udinsky of Oakland.

Aroner would figure to be a lock to return to the Assembly next year, but that may not be where she's headed. The election of Barbara Lee to serve out the unexpired term of retired Representative Ron Dellums has opened a Senate seat, and Aroner has announced her candidacy. Such a Senate run poses virtually no risk to Aroner — she's still on the ballot in both races. But a Senate race wouldn't necessarily be a slam dunk for Aroner. Alameda County Supervisor Keith Carson has all but declared for the race and could bring with him the backing of both Lee and Dellums. Meanwhile, the list of prospective contenders could grow further once the primary is over in the Oakland mayor's race, as mayoral also-rans hunt for another place to park.

District 15 (38% D - 46% R) —

Democrats: Charles Brydon of Danville, Daniel White of Walnut Creek. Republican: Incumbent Lynne Leach of Walnut Creek. Libertarian: Duncan Wheat of Livermore.

The most Republican district in the Bay Area is appropriately enough represented by one of the Legislature's most conservative members. Democratic recruiting was half-hearted, and Leach should walk to re-election despite almost losing in 1996.

District 16 (66% D - 14% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Linda Marshall of Oakland.

Perata, who started the year as a rival to Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, never has to worry about being appreciated at home.

District 17 (50% D - 38% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Michael Machado of Stockton. Republican: Jay Smart of Manteca.

Although two-term incumbent Machado faced both a recall and a tough race in 1996, he still won by 7 points in a district where the Democratic registration edge is slowly eroding and, like the rest of the Central Valley, becoming more conservative. His November opponent is a Manteca councilman.

District 18 (58% D - 25% R) —

Democrats: Ellen Corbett of San Leandro, Terrence Cotcher of Hayward, Ben Elias of Union City, Bill Ward of Hayward. Republican: Carol Nowicki of Castro Valley.



Corbett



Ward

One of two adjacent Contra Costa Assembly seats which opened up when their incumbents filed to run for the state Senate. All four of the Democrats boast some kind of elective background, but only Corbett and Ward have geographic bases large enough to make an appreciable dent in the electorate. Corbett, the mayor of San Leandro, has

been involved in some regional transportation issues and also served as an education liaison. Ward is a Hayward city councilman touting himself as the moderate. His fund raising has lagged well behind that of Corbett, but he has a slew of local endorsements including Corbett's three mayoral predecessors. Union City Councilman Elias gave himself a \$15,000 loan the last day before filing his campaign report to pump up his numbers, but overall fund-raising weakness and lack of a regional core of votes hurts his chances. The primary battle will likely turn on which candidate is better able to mobilize his or her base. Corbett has an organizational edge, but Hayward is larger than San Leandro. The two should be pretty evenly matched if Ward is able to raise the money he needs.

District 19 (54% D - 28% R) —

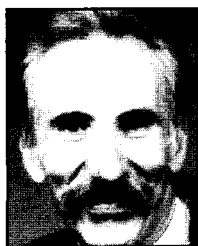
Democrat: Incumbent Lou Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Penny Ferguson of Pacifica. Libertarian: Steve Marsland of Pacifica.

The "new Lou" arrived in Sacramento a little quieter but otherwise much like the "old Lou," who served during the 1970s and '80s — ornery, obstreperous, and invincible in his district.



District 20 (48% D - 32% R) —

Democrats: Val Bettencourt, John Dutra, John Weed. Republicans: Linda Widmar, Jonelle Zager. All of Fremont.



Bettencourt



Dutra

This is other half of the Lockyer Senate seat — the one vacated by incumbent Liz Figueroa. A slew of candidates took an early look at the race, including Milpitas Mayor Henry Manayan and San Jose City Councilwoman Margie Fernandes. Eventually, most of them settled on Dutra, a real estate agent who spent 10 years on the Fremont City Council. Dutra is highlighting his "fiscal conservatism" and was at one time a Republican before switching to the Democratic Party. Nonetheless, Weed, who serves on the Alameda County Water District board,

is touting himself as the more conservative of the two. Even Bettencourt, a relatively underfunded former county central committee chair, is sounding like a "new" Democrat. Why are Democrats talking conservatism? The registration tells the story — Democratic numbers have dropped 2 percent since 1992, with most of those voters shifting to decline-to-state. The district supported Pete Wilson in 1994 and also backed Propositions 187 and 209. Given his long tenure in Fremont, the largest city in the district, most locals give Dutra the edge; he's got money and an organization and also has the backing of Figueroa. But the two Republicans in the race — Widmar and Zager — also figure to target the city. Zager is a current member of the Fremont City Council and Widmar serves on the Fremont Board of Education. The question for the GOP candidates is whether they can convince the GOP powers that be that the Democrat is weak enough to warrant targeting the seat.

District 21 (48% D - 34% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Ted Lempert of San Carlos. Republican: Lavern Atherly of Redwood City. Natural Law: Marilyn Bryant of Palo Alto.

Though its registration may be slightly more favorable to Republicans than the 20th, this suburban seat is a safe haven for Lempert, the former legislator who spent time as a county supervisor before coming back to Sacramento in 1996.

District 22 (48% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Elaine Alquist of Santa Clara. Republican: Stan Kawczynski of Sunnyvale. Libertarian: Paul Rako of Sunnyvale. Natural Law: Rich Dunstan of San Jose.

Another district that is more conservative in registration than in temperament, the area is the former Assembly home of John Vasconcellos and is currently Alquist's safe seat.

District 23 (57% D - 23% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Mike Honda, Patricia Martinez-Roach. Republican: Patrick DuLong. All of San Jose.

Martinez-Roach, a school board trustee, came in a distant third to Honda two years ago, when the seat was open, despite receiving some discreet help from members of the Latino Caucus. Now, Honda is an incumbent solidly in the camp of Speaker Antonio

Villaraigosa, whose bona fides with the district's Latino community are secure.

District 24 (42% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Phil Stokes of Saratoga. Republicans: Incumbent Jim Cunneen of Los Altos, Donna Courtright and David Prince of Los Gatos. Libertarian: Ray Strong of San Jose.

In the past two elections, moderate Cunneen has mostly had to worry about the Democrats, as former California Teachers Association president Ed Foglia made unsuccessful runs at him in '94 and '96. This time, though, he faces competition in the primary, albeit fairly low-grade competition.

District 25 (43% D - 43% R) —

Democrats: Wesley Firch of Oakdale. Republican: Incumbent George House of Hughson. Libertarian: Jonathan Ira Zwickel of Madera. Reform: Leonard M. Surratt of Modesto.

Conservative House got to the Assembly in 1994 by knocking off an incumbent Democrat with an "A-plus" rating from the NRA. That tells you all you need to know about Democratic chances in this Central Valley district.



District 26 (51% D - 34% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Dennis Cardoza of Atwater. Republican: Patty Hollingsworth of Turlock. American Independent: Carl Towe of Ceres. Libertarian: David Eaton of Merced.

Cardoza, a former Merced and Atwater councilman, won by 87 votes in his first race for the Assembly in 1996 against Tom Berryhill, son of the late state Agriculture Director and Senator Clare Berryhill. This time, the GOP mantle falls to Hollingsworth, a former legislative staffer to both Clare Berryhill and Senator Ken Maddy. She also served as a business and economic development director in the Deukmejian administration. This one heats up in the fall.

District 27 (50% D - 29% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Fred Keeley of Boulder Creek. Republicans: Chuck Carter of Monterey and Phil Chavez of Pebble Beach. Libertarian: Dirk Walker Deardorff of Santa Cruz.

Former Santa Cruz County Supervisor Keeley entered the Assembly as a rookie-plus in 1996, given his long prior service as chief of staff to area legislator Sam Farr, now a member of Congress. He has a strong environmental record in a coastal district concerned

with such things, making the battle uphill for the two Republicans trying to overcome the Democrats' edge in voter registration: Carter, a conservative businessman and educator; and Chavez, who owns a Monterey-based agricultural export company. Chavez, who lives in Pebble Beach and can be expected to put some of his own money into the race, is a conservative who lost the 1996 GOP primary for the congressional seat held by Farr.

🔥 District 28 (51% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Alan Styles of Salinas. Republican: Incumbent Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos. Libertarian: Kate Woods of Paicines.

Running for his final term, Frusetta, who is rarely seen without his trademark Stetson and neckerchief, has been a constant target for Democrats. He twice defeated Democrat Lily Cervantes and likely will be in the bull's eye again, with his challenger three-term Salinas Mayor Styles, a Vietnam veteran and former East Salinas school board member.

🔥 District 29 (39% D - 47% R) —

Republicans: Mike Briggs of Fresno, Leslie Gulke of Clovis, Bill Maze of Visalia, and Naomi Strom of Fresno.



Briggs



Maze

The race to succeed Chuck Poochigian, a candidate for state Senate, is an all-GOP affair featuring several well-known local officials and community activists. The early front-runner is Briggs, a Fresno councilman and mayor pro tem who teaches music at a community college and once served as chief of staff to former Senator Phil Wyman. Briggs is a staunch law-and-order defender who was joined at an early campaign rally by Fresno Mike Reynolds of "three strikes" fame. His electoral base in Fresno overlaps a large chunk of the district and gives him an advantage in name recognition among likely voters. Gulke, owner of a fire protection/electrical contracting business and the wife of the vice chairman of the Fresno County Republican

Central Committee, claims to be "the" conservative in the race. Tulare County Supervisor Maze is in his second term on the board and is president of the San Joaquin Valley Supervisors Association. A farmer and general contractor, he has held a host of community and local government positions. Strom is a former member of the Board of Education for the 27,000-student Clovis Unified School District and a registered nurse endorsed by the Central Labor Council and the California Nurses Association.

🔥 District 30 (51% D - 35% R) —

Democrats: Dean Florez of Shafter, Greg Norris of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Robert Prenter Jr. of Fresno.

Prenter, then a politically unknown medical supply salesman with access to big Republican PAC money — his uncle is conservative Christian broadcaster Edward Atsinger III, a founder of the California Independent Business PAC — catapulted into the Assembly in 1996 by twice beating then-Assembly Speaker Brian Setencich (R-Fresno), once in the GOP primary and once in the general election, where Setencich ran a write-in campaign. Prior to Setencich's 1994 victory, the district was held by a Democrat, however, and Democrats want it back. Still, this is a conservative district, and Prenter now has the edge of incumbency. Of the two Democrats in the race, the official party blessing has gone to Florez, former legislative staffer and Harvard-educated investment banker who is a municipal government consultant and has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, California Teachers Association and several area legislators. His opponent is Norris, a customer service representative for Pacific Gas & Electric.

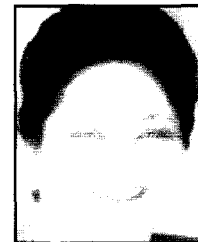
🔥 District 31 (55% D - 31% R) —

Democrats: Sarah Reyes of Fresno, Rosaline Velasco of Parlier. Republican: Dave Jackson of Kingsburg.

The most visible — and anointed — candidate for this heavily Democratic district currently represented by termed-out former Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante is Reyes, a well-known former television reporter in Sacramento and Fresno who is assistant to the chancellor of the State Center Community College District. She has the endorsements of just about every major Democratic officeholder in the area — and several outside the area — including Bustamante and Assembly Speaker



Reyes



Velasco

Antonio Villaraigosa, and is involved in a long list of community activities. The other Democrat, Velasco, is an area businesswoman and member of the Fresno County Democratic Central Committee who has run for several offices in past years, including the Fresno County Board of Supervisors and mayor and treasurer of Parlier. A transplant, she worked as an administrator for the state Departments of Transportation and Industrial Relations in Los Angeles for 13 years. The sole Republican candidate is a farmer in Kingsburg, a past president of the Fresno County School Trustee Association and the Kingsburg Joint Union High School District Board of Trustees.

🔥 District 32 (38% D - 49% R) —

Democrat: Robert Tucker of Bakersfield. Republican: Incumbent Roy Ashburn.

No contest in this heavily Republican district.

🔥 District 33 (39% D - 44% R) —

Democrats: Betty Sanders of San Luis Obispo. Republicans: Rene "Rick" Bravo of San Luis Obispo, Leon Paul Buttlar of Lompoc, Steve Macelvaine of Morro Bay and Abel Maldonado of Santa Maria. Libertarian: David L. Bersohn of Arroyo Grande.



Bravo



Maldonado

Republican incumbent Tom Bordonaro's decision to run for the congressional seat left vacant by the death of Democrat Walter Capps opened up this Assembly seat, and a flock of Republicans rushed in. Three of the four GOP candidates are fairly well-known in the staunchly Republican central coast district, but the contest has evolved between Maldonado, the mayor

of Santa Maria, and Bravo, a pediatrician backed by party conservatives. A farmer and businessman, Maldonado is a skilled fund raiser who set city records for spending in both his council and mayoral races. Thus far he has raised \$160,000 for the Assembly race, \$90,000 of that a personal loan. Bravo reportedly has raised \$100,000 without the benefit of loans, including \$60,000 since the mid-March reporting period. He is chairman of the San Luis Obispo County Republican Central Committee, serves on numerous community boards, is a past president of the San Luis Obispo County Medical Society and was chief of staff at San Luis Obispo General Hospital. He is also active in party politics, both locally and statewide and has the support of several influential conservatives, including former Speaker Curt Pringle. Macelvaine, a former San Luis Obispo County supervisor who lost to Democratic Senator Jack O'Connell in 1994, is a rancher and former coastal commissioner, well-known in San Luis Obispo County. Buttler, who with his wife owns the Village Coffee Stop in Vandenberg Village in Lompoc, is active in his community at the far end of the district but a virtual unknown elsewhere. Sanders, the sole Democrat in the race, is a registered nurse and lawyer who lost to Bordonaro in 1996.

District 34 (36% D - 47% R) —
Democrat: Steven Figueroa of Victorville. Republican: Incumbent Keith Olberg of Victorville. Libertarian: Jeffrey Laing of Tehachapi.

Facing his third — and final — term in the Assembly, Olberg is boxed in politically. He is nested in a Senate district where the incumbent, Republican Pete Knight, may serve until 2004. Still, Olberg is young and capable and likely will surface again.

District 35 (44% D - 36% R) —
Democrats: Hannab-Beth Jackson and Al Pizano of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Alan "Lanny" Ebenstein, David Lack and Chris Mitchum of Santa Barbara. Natural Law: Eric Dahl of Goleta.

The seat vacated by Republican Brooks Firestone's ill-fated decision to run for Congress opened up this Ventura and Santa Barbara coastal district, which has been represented by both parties in the 1990s. Among Republicans, the top fund raiser to date is Lack, a Santa Barbara building contractor and one-



Ebenstein



Lack

time campaign aide to Michael Huffington, who reported contributions of more than \$180,000, including \$115,000 from his own pocket. The money has allowed him to be first among the candidates to air television commercials. His connection to Huffington may not endear Lack to district voters, however. He is trailed in fund raising by Ebenstein, a Santa Barbara School District board member who collected \$54,147 — most of it loans from himself and others. The third Republican in the race is Mitchum, son of the late actor Robert Mitchum. A writer/actor who lives in Santa Barbara, Mitchum reported \$13,875 in contributions, including \$5,000 from his mother. Democrat Jackson, a Santa Barbara attorney who entered the race before Firestone decided not to run, has numerous endorsements from local officials, as well as from the major Democratic officeholders in the area — Jack O'Connell and Lois Capps. A family lawyer and former prosecutor who has practiced in Ventura and Santa Barbara for 17 years, Jackson is the only woman in the race and promotes her pro-choice views on abortion in a region where the Capps-Bordonaro congressional contest raised the issue to superstatus. She reported nearly \$55,000, including a \$2,000 personal loan. Her fund raising has far exceeded the other Democratic candidate, Al Pizano, district manager of Southern California Gas.

District 36 (35% D - 49% R) —
Democrat: Paula Calderon of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent George Runner of Lancaster. Libertarian: Gregory Bashem of Lancaster.

Two years ago, Runner was locked in a big-spending three-way primary contest for this rural Los Angeles County seat. His reward for surviving that race is a primary-free 1998.

District 37 (40% D - 42% R) —
Democrat: Rosalind McGrath of Camarillo. Republicans: John Lane of Moorpark, Jere Robings and Tony

Strickland of Thousand Oaks, Rich Sybert of Camarillo, Toni Young of Port Hueneme. Reform: Michael Farris of Thousand Oaks.



Strickland



Sybert

When you want to see the cracks in a political party's unity, there's no better place to look than in the primary of a safe, open seat. The forced retirement, due to term limits, of incumbent Nao Takasugi has opened the door to a continuation of the long-standing feud between the Pete Wilson wing of the Republican Party and the neo-libertarianism of GOP Assemblyman Tom McClintock. Perhaps intent on a little empire building, McClintock is backing Strickland, his chief aide. Strickland has lined up the customary battery of conservative supporters, including the California Republican Assembly and Traditional Values Coalition chief Lou Sheldon. On the other side is Sybert, former chief of Wilson's Office of Planning and Research, who is making his biennial run for elective office. In 1994 and '96, Sybert was the GOP nominee in the Ventura-centered 24th Congressional District, losing to former incumbent Tony Beilenson and current incumbent Brad Sherman, respectively. Although he's apparently lowered his expectations, Sybert still brings fundraising clout and his own money, helping him to a substantial financial edge in the early going. Sybert also has the backing of Takasugi, as well as former Governor George Deukmejian. Still, Strickland has forced his opponent onto the defensive. Sybert mistakenly listed former Vice President Dan Quayle on his official endorsement list, a gaffe which echoed his 1996 congressional mailer which implied an endorsement from Colin Powell. Sybert claimed it was a misunderstanding, then found an erroneous endorsement on Strickland's list. Fax wars aside, the biggest difference between the two candidates is money. Sybert's got it, or knows where he can get it — his first congressional primary victory in 1994 was largely waged out of personal resources. Strickland is trying

to make up for the shortage by endlessly walking precincts. But it's a big district.

District 38 (39% D - 42% R) —
Republican: Incumbent Tom McClintock of Northridge.

McClintock has spent almost his entire adult life in pursuit of public office. It just goes to show you — hang around long enough and it gets easy.

District 39 (62% D - 22% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Tony Cardenas of Arleta. Libertarian: Kit Maira of North Hollywood.

Then again, there's something to be said for beginner's luck.

District 40 (55% D - 28% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Bob Hertzberg of Van Nuys. Republicans: Eunice Deleuw of Van Nuys, Kyle Hammans of Sherman Oaks. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys.

The ebullient Hertzberg is now the chair of the Assembly Rules Committee and has a swanky new office in the Capitol, all the result of backing the right horse in the speakership race.

District 41 (49% D - 34% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Sheila Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Paul Shin of Malibu. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Malibu.

One of Sacramento's sharpest, Kuehl is virtually untouchable, despite relatively weak Democratic registration.

District 42 (57% D - 24% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Wally Knox. Republican: Kevin Davis. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Lawrence. All of Los Angeles.

Knox will waltz into his final Assembly term.

District 43 (45% D - 38% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Scott Wildman of Los Angeles. Republicans: Peter Repovich of Montrose and Dave Wallis of Glendale. Libertarian: Daniel White of Burbank. Reform: Marie Buren of Toluca Lake.

Since it was redrawn in 1991, the district once represented by conservative "caveman" Pat Nolan has gone from about even party registration to a 7-point edge for Democrats. It is currently represented by Wildman, a former United Teachers of Los Angeles organizer and a mainstream, if somewhat iconoclastic, Democrat. The district is a

perennial target for whichever party doesn't hold it, and it will be again. But after the biennial overtures to Glendale Mayor Larry Zarian were again rebuffed, the GOP was left without many options, and their field this year consists of two perennial candidates. Repovich, the likely primary winner, is a 15-year LAPD veteran who has run twice before with financial help from a mysterious Las Vegas massage therapist. Neither race got him past the primary, but with only the underfinanced Wallis against him, it looks like Repovich's year. Can Repovich take out Wildman? Registration suggests he can, and the incumbent's scattershot chairmanship of the Joint Legislative Audit Committee has earned him enemies among those who should be friends. But Republicans tend to campaign as if this were the old conservative 43rd, a fact the Democrats can be expected to spend a lot of time and money emphasizing. Whatever they may think of Wildman, the caucus can ill-afford to give any ground in territory so freshly won.

District 44 (45% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Jack Scott of Altadena. Republican: Ken La Corte of Pasadena. Green: Shawn Waddell of Pasadena. Libertarian: Ken Saurenman of Pasadena. Reform: Philip Corvalan of Arcadia.

Two years after unseating targeted GOP incumbent Bill Hoge, it is now Scott, former head of Pasadena City College, who is the target. The National Rifle Association, in fact, is already "gunning" for Scott, having run newspaper advertising attacking his position on gun control. Businessman La Corte has lagged behind the incumbent in fund raising, but rest assured he'll get the money if Republicans think they can get anywhere close to knocking Scott off.

District 45 (62% D - 18% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Antonio Villaraigosa. Republican: Kitty Hedrick. Both of Los Angeles.

Make that Speaker Villaraigosa, at least for another year or two. Villaraigosa has already had an impact on this year's elections, as he eschewed the practice of past leaders and openly endorsed candidates in contested primaries. Villaraigosa became speaker largely on the perception that he could hold the majority. Now, he gets to prove it.

District 46 (65% D - 17% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Gil Cedillo. Republican: Andrew Kim. Both of Los Angeles.

A bitter winter special election, in which organized labor organized like never before, allowed Cedillo to take over the seat previously held by moderate Louis Caldera. Cedillo's victory helped propel his friend Antonio Villaraigosa into the speakership.

District 47 (72% D - 13% R) —
Democrats: Marcia Cohen of Culver City, Joey Hill of Los Angeles, Herb Wesson of Culver City. Republican: Jonathan Leonard. Libertarian: Eric Fine. Both of Los Angeles.



Hill



Wesson

This district, which includes upper middle-class enclaves such as Baldwin Hills, is one of the more affluent African-American-dominated areas in the country. The last time the seat was open, current incumbent Kevin Murray (now running for Senate) survived a bruising primary, winning with 21 percent of the vote. It will take considerably more than 21 percent to win this time, even in an open primary year. The race, which is all in the Democratic primary, boils down to two men — Hill and Wesson — whose combined fund raising as of early April had already topped \$500,000. Wesson, the chief deputy to Los Angeles County Supervisor Yvonne Burke, is tapping the contacts gleaned as "chancellor of the exchequer" in Burke's supervisory fiefdom. Presiding over a much smaller fiefdom — a legislative office — is Hill, Murray's own chief of staff. As Murray did in 1994, Hill emphasizes his ties to the community, and his endorsement list is full of local church ministers in addition to heavyweights like Senator Diane Watson and former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. His campaign is also critical of Burke's heavy-handed fund-raising efforts on Wesson's behalf. For its part, the Wesson campaign seeks to attack Hill by attacking his boss, whom they argue hasn't done anything for the district. In addition to

Burke's endorsement, Wesson has the support of the L.A. Federation of Labor, SEIU, and Representative Julian Dixon. With all that money floating around, it's a cinch mailboxes will be filled as never before — Murray himself never spent more than \$80,000 on a race. But organizing is still important, and each has his own strength: Wesson has the key organized labor support while Hill has spots on most of the district's better known slate mailers.

District 48 (82% D - 5% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Rod Wright. Republican: Ernest Woods. Both of Los Angeles.

Wright got in some hot water earlier this year for roughing up an Assembly staffer. But there's nobody on the horizon to rough him up come election time.

District 49 (59% D - 23% R) —
Democrats: Bob Bruesch of Rosemead, Judy Chu of Monterey Park, Susan Martinez-Baker of Rosemead, Barbara Messina of Alhambra, Gloria Romero of Los Angeles. Republican: Jay Imperial of Rosemead. Libertarian: Rachel Brown of Alhambra.



Chu



Romero

While any suggestion of a "Martinez political legacy" would cause rolled eyebrows and stifled snickers in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., it is at least something of a reality on the home turf of Representative Matthew Martinez and his daughter, Assemblywoman Diane Martinez. So it was no surprise to see another Martinez daughter — Susie — looking to move into her older sister's Assembly seat when term limits struck. But as has been the case with the more established Martinezes, there is no shortage of people looking to punch some holes into the "legacy." Martinez-Baker, whose ballot designation is "Business Owner/Mom," is one of four competitors for the seat. Chu, a Monterey Park councilmember and former mayor, is the best financed of the group. Four years ago, in an unsuccessful challenge to Martinez, Chu raised

nearly \$300,000, and has already raised more money than the rest of the candidates combined. Alhambra Mayor Messina isn't as well funded but also boasts the bona fides of a public official. Romero is a psychology professor who sits on the L.A. Community College Board of Trustees. In 1997, she also won a seat on Mayor Richard Riordan's newly formed Charter Reform Commission. Romero sports the toniest endorsement list, with names such as Antonio Villaraigosa, Richard Polanco and Riordan. Riordan's support has proven helpful for fund raising in other areas, so it is possible Romero could close the financial gap with Chu. But Martinez-Baker's natural name identification makes her impossible to ignore. One wild card factor in the race could be ethnicity. This district is probably as close as any in the state to being an Asian-influenced district, with large concentrations of Chinese and Japanese voters. Four years ago, running in a closed primary against a single high-profile Latina — Martinez — Chu fell short. But this year, the primary is open, and the field is considerably broader. If Asian Republicans and independents cross over to support Chu, it could help her achieve enough of a plurality to squeak past the other four Democrats and sweep aside the "Martinez legacy."

District 50 (68% D - 16% R) —
Democrats: Elvira Moreno de Guzman of Maywood, Marco Firebaugh of Los Angeles, Alfredo Hernandez of South Gate. Republican: Gladys Miller of South Gate.

Normally an open seat such as this one vacated by termed-out incumbent Martha Escutia would occasion a mad dash. But party leaders moved quickly and the field was cleared relatively early for Firebaugh, a young lawyer who does legal analysis for a number of municipalities in the area. Veteran consultant Hernandez will keep it from being a total wipeout.

District 51 (68% D - 16% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Ed Vincent of Inglewood. Republican: Robert Acherman of Los Angeles. Green: Rex Frankel of Los Angeles.

Vincent has made waves in Sacramento for his efforts on behalf of tobacco interests, notably his work to repeal the indoor smoking ban. When taking controversial positions, it helps to be safe at home.

District 52 (75% D - 10% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Carl Washington of Paramount.

Two years ago, Washington survived a tough primary against Assemblyman Kevin Murray's sister. He was rewarded this year with a pass.

District 53 (42% D - 40% R) —
Democrats: Laurie Fathe of Los Angeles, Stewart Fournier of Manhattan Beach, George Nakano and Mark Wirth of Torrance, Bob Pinzler and Zeke Zeidler of Redondo Beach, Chris O'Brien of Hermosa Beach. Republican: Bill Eggers of Redondo Beach.



Nakano



Pinzler

Although she somehow always found a way to win, termed-out incumbent Debra Bowen won't miss running in this Republican-leaning but independent-minded coastal district. She certainly won't miss the target permanently attached to her back. But Bowen's experience seemed not to deter many would-be Democratic successors. The best financed of these prospects is Nakano, a member of the Torrance City Council. Four years ago, Nakano ran a well-financed aggressive challenge to then-incumbent state Senator Ralph Dills, keeping the octogenarian lawmaker below 50 percent. Nakano has supplemented his own effective fund raising with money out of his own pocket, and also has an endorsement from Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Next on the fund-raising totem is Zeidler, president of the Redondo Beach School Board. Zeidler, who is openly gay, has been working the standard Democratic constituencies, and presents himself as a "real Democrat." Pinzler, a Redondo Beach councilmember, was seen as an early favorite in the race, not only because of his position, but because his wife is an employee of Bowen's. But Bowen herself is staying out of the race and



Zeidler

Pinzler's fund raising has lagged. Also playing catch-up are Wirth, an aide to Representative Jane Harman, and O'Brien, a business attorney, and Fathe, whose natural advantage as the only woman in the race is diminished by her relative invisibility as a candidate. All of the main Democratic contenders, save for Zeidler, are positioning themselves on the moderate to conservative end of the spectrum. The Democrats' job got a little easier the day filing closed. Republican Bill Beverly, son of former state Senator Bob Beverly, had been making rather low-key preparations to run. Beverly's relatively moderate positions and the identification with his father would have made his candidacy a strong one. But Beverly got confused about the directions for submitting signatures to qualify him for the ballot, and fell three signatures short of the number needed to make the ballot. Beverly tried to challenge his disqualification in court, arguing he'd substantially complied with the law, but his challenge was rejected. With Beverly out of the race, Eggers, a neo-libertarian policy director with the conservative Reason Foundation, was the only Republican left, perhaps giving Democrats something to actually look forward to this November.



District 54 (45% D - 39% R) —

Democrats: Alan Lowenthal of Long Beach and Sander Sonnen of Rolling Hills Estates. Republicans: Julie Alban and Doug Drummond of Long Beach; Marilyn Lyon of Rancho Palos Verdes; Alva Romero Personius of Rolling Hills Estates. American Independent: Phil Drake of Long Beach. Libertarian: Al Carlan of Rancho Palos Verdes.

Incumbent Republican Steve Kuykendall's decision to run for Jane Harman's congressional seat leaves an unexpected vacancy in this coastal swing district, which is bookended by working-class Long Beach and the more elite Rancho Palos Verdes. Not surprisingly, two of the Republicans with a realistic chance to win the seat are municipal elected officials, one from each end of the district. Lyon, a member of the Rancho Palos Verdes City Council, got the early jump on the field, reporting more than \$120,000 by mid-March. Though Lyon maintains she has ties to both ends of the district and polls well in Long Beach, most of her endorsements come from her political home base at the ritzier end of the district.



Alban



Drummond



Lyon

Drummond, a Long Beach councilman, spent nearly three decades on the Long Beach police force. He polls better in Long Beach, but his fund raising has lagged behind Lyon's. Looks like a fairly straightforward geographic fight except for one complication: newcomer Alban. A domestic violence prosecutor, Alban brings a law-enforcement credential to the race along with a wealthy benefactor: Her father, local surgeon Sy Alban. But she also brings something else: a compelling personal story which gained national attention. In 1988, one day after rejecting the marriage proposal of her boyfriend, the boyfriend — who was the stepson of the former publisher of the *Long Beach Press Telegram* — shot her in the back, then shot himself. Alban was left paralyzed but battled back to earn a law degree and become a victim's rights advocate. So far, Lyon and Drummond are substantially better known than Alban and both make much of their experience — in her fund-raising literature, Lyon never fails to mention Alban's age. But the nearly \$250,000 of her father's money pumped into Alban's race can buy a lot of name recognition. All three bill themselves as pro-choice moderates, a safe bet in a district in which Kuykendall's combined margin of victory in two previous elections was less than 5,000 votes. But Drummond is generally seen as the most conservative of the three, and unless he gets some money, he could find himself effectively eclipsed by the two women on primary night. Alban's personal story and family wealth are an attractive profile, but unlike other self-funded neophytes, she is facing an opponent — Lyon — with the money to fight back. Lyon has her own delicate balancing act; she'll have to attack Alban's inexperience without going so far as to create a sympathy backlash for the wheelchair-bound newcomer.

Awaiting the Republican result will almost certainly be Lowenthal, a psychology professor and member of the Long Beach City Council. Active both in environmental issues — he's an alternate on the California Coastal Commission — and gun control, Lowenthal hits many of the right buttons. This seat will almost certainly be at the top of both parties' target lists come the fall campaign.

District 55 (66% D - 18% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Richard Floyd of Harbor City, Seth Francois of Wilmington, Carl Robinson of Carson. Republican: Don Eslinger of Torrance. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of Carson.

While this district's diversity makes it an ethnic battleground on paper, Floyd's rough-hewn iconoclasm seems to suit this blue-collar working-class stronghold.



District 56 (50% D - 36% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Sally Havice of Cerritos. Republican: Phil Hawkins of Cerritos. Libertarian: Bruce McKenzie of Downey.

Neither primary is contested, but watch out for the general election. Hawkins served one term in this blue-collar seat populated with Reagan Democrats before taking an unsuccessful shot at the state Senate. His desertion gave Democrats an opening which Havice ran through.

District 57 (56% D - 27% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Martin Gallegos of Montebello, Sally Fallon of La Puente. Republican: Henry Gonzales of Hacienda Heights.

Fallon, a La Puente councilwoman, could be just getting her name around in anticipation of an opening in this district in 2000. Whatever her motive, she's not going to make much trouble for Gallegos.



District 58 (63% D - 24% R) —

Democrats: Tom Calderon of Montebello, Rick Mayer of Whittier. Republican: Albert Nunez of Whittier.

The race to replace termed-out Democrat Grace Napolitano started out as a contest between Calderon, a school board member and younger brother of Senator Charles Calderon, and Rudy Bermudez, who sits on a different school board within the district. But Bermudez dropped out, backing Calderon. The field thus cleared, Calderon secured

most of the important Sacramento endorsements, though his lone remaining competitor, Metropolitan Water District board member Mayer, does have some labor support from the building and construction trades. Although Mayer's water district includes most of the district, the family name should give the younger Calderon a decided edge.

District 59 (36% D - 45% R) —

Democrat: Christian Christiansen of Covina. Republican: Incumbent Bob Margett of Arcadia. Libertarian: Jerry Johnson of Covina. Natural Law: Louise Allison of Claremont.

The low-key Margett enjoys job security in one of L.A. County's most Republican districts.

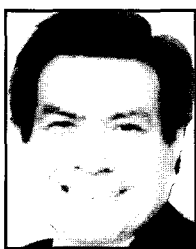


District 60 (43% D - 40% R) —

Democrat: Ben Wong of West Covina. Republicans: Norman Hsu of Hacienda Heights; Bob Huff, Michael Radlovic of Diamond Bar; Robert Pacheco of Walnut. Libertarian: Leland Faegre of West Covina.



Radlovic



Pacheco

The same demographic shift which pushed the Glendale- and Pasadena-based 43rd and 44th districts into the Democratic column appears to be moving east — two years ago, incumbent Gary Miller managed only 52 percent of the vote despite raising about 200 times as much as his little-known Democratic rival. This year, with Miller departing to challenge embattled GOP Representative Jay Kim, the Republican primary shapes up as yet another battle of a well-heeled newcomer against a veteran local official. The newcomer, Radlovic, is a 38-year-old businessman and former marketing consultant who, like his father, is a long-time party activist. Radlovic, who once worked for U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington, is casting himself as a moderate but also carries the backing of conservatives like Orange County Representative Ed Royce and former Senate GOP Leader Rob Hurtt. Radlovic has already stuffed more than \$400,000 of his own money into the race. Pacheco,

a 62-year-old Korean War vet who serves on the Walnut City Council, also seeded his campaign, but with only about a tenth of what Radlovic put into his race. Pacheco is positioning himself as the conservative in the race, but that conservatism, and his Latino heritage, could resonate with the middle- to upper-middle-income Latinos whose migration into the district is causing its transformation. The other two Republicans also have some public service bona fides — Huff is a Diamond Bar councilman, and Hsu is a school board member. But the race appears to be between Pacheco and Radlovic, and will likely boil down to money, and whether Pacheco can raise enough to counter Radlovic's expected blitz. Whoever emerges from the primary will square off against Wong, a West Covina council member who owns a Chinese restaurant in the area.



District 61 (45% D - 39% R) —

Democrats: Gloria Negrete McLeod of Chino and Nell Soto of Pomona. Republicans: Bob DeMallie of Rancho Cucamonga, Gus Skropos of Ontario, Jim Thalman and Mike Wickman of Chino Hills.



DaMallie



Skropos

Two years ago, when Republican incumbent Fred Aguiar sought his third and final term, Republican registration was at 42 percent, and the popular Aguiar cruised to victory. But Aguiar is termed out and running unopposed for the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors. More significantly, GOP voter registration has slipped to under 40 percent, and that fact, coupled with a 42 percent Latino population, has caused Democrats to put this district on their "watch" list. As with any open seat, the race has drawn a diverse cast of characters from both parties. On the Republican side, money and a large elective base have made Ontario Mayor Skropos the early front-runner. Skropos has about \$200,000 in the bank — nearly 10 times more than any of his GOP competitors. In addition, he hails from the largest city in the district with

some 43,000 voters and a strong fundraising base among developers and the business community. As a deputy district attorney, he's also grabbed endorsements from most major law enforcement groups in the area and most local elected officials, and the political baggage accrued during a failed 1995 recall attempt has mostly fallen away. Skropos ran for this same district back in 1992, losing 2-to-1 to Aguiar for what was then an open seat. All three of his primary opponents have some electoral experience. DeMallie served four years on the Cucamonga School District Board, including a two-year stint as president. The most conservative of the field, DeMallie is former president of the local California Republican Assembly chapter and has been endorsed by Senators Ray Haynes and Richard Mountjoy, and by several conservative assemblymen from other parts of the state. Although his bank account boasts only \$20,000, he expects financial help from Haynes and perhaps from the conservative PAC headed by Ed Atzinger and Howard Ahmanson. He also was the first candidate to set up an absentee ballot program, launching his effort in early April. The other two GOP contenders — Thalman and Wickman — both serve on the Chino Hills City Council and share that base. Each is a retired peace officer. Thalman, who has raised about \$12,000 and matched that amount from his own pocket, has endorsements from several local elected officials, as well as from the California Firefighters Association. He has targeted a \$100,000 war chest but hasn't raised nearly that much to date. Wickman, on the other hand, has been slow to organize his effort due to his wife's illness, which may prevent him from campaigning as vigorously as the others. He also had about \$20,000 on hand in early April and has no plans to hire professional campaign help. On the Democratic side, the front-runner is Soto, a Pomona councilwoman and the widow of Phil Soto, who represented the area in the Assembly during the 1960s. She has about \$55,000 in the bank and is backed by most legislative Democrats, including Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and Senator Richard Polanco. She also has the endorsement of the state Democratic Party. First, however, she must dispose of McLeod, an elected member of the Chaffey Community College Board, who has raised little cash outside the \$20,000 she use to seed the campaign.

District 62 (56% D - 30% R) —

Democrats: Rita Arias of San Bernardino, Karl Gaytan of Colton, Frank Guzman of Grand Terrace, John Longville of Rialto, Albert Martinez of San Bernardino. Republican: Irma Escobar of Fontana.



Longville



Martinez

With Democrat Joe Baca termed out and running for the Senate, this becomes an open seat that has attracted a bevy of Democrats. Although none of the candidates yet causes much of a blip on the radar screen, the most recognizable name is that of Longville, the mayor of Rialto. He ran for this seat when it came open back in 1992, finishing a distant third to Baca in the primary. Longville had raised \$37,000 by early April, sending \$7,000 of it on a mailer. He also had been endorsed by area Representative George Brown, Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl and the state Democratic Party. Another endorsement came from Colton Mayor Karl Gaytan, who had been on the ballot himself but withdrew in mid-March due to ill health. Two other Democrats — attorney Guzman and San Bernardino City Councilwoman Arias — showed little fund-raising or campaign activity by the end of March. Guzman had no money; Arias reported but \$1,400. So, the field would seem to be clearing for Longville, right? Enter Martinez, a parole agent from San Bernardino and a former prison guard. Martinez, who has never held elective office, is backed — heavily — by the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, which already has seeded his campaign with \$50,000 and plans to spend what it takes to get him through the primary. His campaign, managed by Sacramento veteran David Townsend, has been endorsed by, among others, Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and former Senator Bob Presley, an area political icon. He also has earned the nod of Mike Reynolds, the author and champion of “three strikes.” He already has put together a large volunteer network drawn from the CCPOA itself, which has a large presence

in the prison-heavy county. A Martinez primary victory likely will seal this district in the Democratic column, for even though Republicans believe they have an attractive candidate in businesswoman Irma Escobar, they won’t buck the CCPOA. If Longville wins the primary, however, this one heats up in the fall.

District 63 (39% D - 47% R) —

Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard. Libertarian: Maureen Lindberg. Both of San Bernardino.

Leonard, who used to be in the Senate and now is Assembly minority leader, must divert his attention elsewhere. His grip on leadership may well depend on how well his caucus performs in November. Pick up seats — or stay even — and he’s likely to remain minority leader. Lose seats and his stay at the top of the caucus could be brief.

District 64 (42% D - 44% R) —

Republican: Incumbent Rod Pacheco of Riverside.

Anyone seen the old donkey that used to be tethered out here?

District 65 (39% D - 46% R) —

Democrat: Ray Quinto of Yucaipa. Republicans: Incumbent Brett Granlund of Yucaipa, David O’Brien of Big Bear City, James Grimes of Running Springs. Natural Law: Joseph Renteria of Cherry Valley.

Incumbent Granlund had a primary challenge from retired judge O’Brien in 1996. O’Brien was entirely self-funded but managed only 30 percent of the vote. He’s back for another try and promises two things — to spend \$100,000 from his personal retirement fund and to make Granlund the issue. He already had launched a radio campaign by early April and plans to stay on the air through the end of May. If O’Brien follows through, and if businessman James Grimes also weighs in with resources that are yet to surface, Granlund could sweat the primary. The winner faces Democrat Quinto, a retired naval officer.

District 66 (33% D - 52% R) —

Democrat: Patsy Hockersmith of Corona. Republican: Incumbent Bruce Thompson of Fallbrook.

Hockersmith challenged Thompson in 1996. She challenged the former Assembly incumbent — Ray Haynes — in 1992. Both times, she lost by some 34,000 votes.

District 67 (33% D - 51% R) —

Democrats: Marie Fennell of Huntington Beach; Rima Nashashibi of Seal Beach. Republicans: Incumbent Scott Baugh of Huntington Beach, Doris Allen of Westminster, Chuck Conlough and Felix Rocha Jr. of Fountain Valley, Marilyn Bruce Hastings of Seal Beach, Haydee Velasquez Tillotson of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Autumn Browne of Westminster.



Baugh



Allen



Tillotson

Expensive and ugly, featuring a reunion of sorts for those involved in the infamous recall election of November 1995 (see *CJ*, January 1996). There’s incumbent Baugh, who won the recall and who still faces a felony trial for alleged campaign reporting violations accrued during that effort. There’s Allen, the former renegade assemblywoman recalled after she cut a deal with Democratic lawmakers to become speaker. And there’s developer Tillotson, who filed in the recall but was bullied out of the race 12 days before the election by the local GOP power structure that backed Baugh. Allen’s candidacy is something out of Cervantes, given that few recalled lawmakers try to reclaim a seat from which they have been tossed. Also, she’s been living in Sacramento for the past two years. Her candidacy, in fact, survived only because a court overturned a decision by Secretary of State Bill Jones to disqualify her because — in Jones’ opinion — she was termed out. Allen isn’t likely to be much of a problem for Baugh since she’s having trouble raising money. Money isn’t a concern for Tillotson, who has the personal resources to seed her campaign with ample cash. Whether she decides to open her wallet will depend on how much her treatment during the recall lit a fire in the belly. Baugh, meanwhile, is expecting to spend \$200,000 to \$300,000. If Tillotson doesn’t match him, she likely will have

to wait to see if Baugh's felony trial results in a conviction — a situation that will immediately remove the one-term incumbent from office and force a special election.

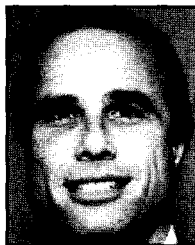


District 68 (39% D - 44% R) —

Democrat: Mike Matsuda of Garden Grove. Republicans: Ho Chung of Garden Grove, Paul Gonzalez of Buena Park, John Kellogg of Westminster, Ken Maddox of Garden Grove, Joy Neugebauer of Westminster.



Chung



Kellogg



Maddox

With incumbent Curt Pringle termed out and running for state treasurer, this seat features a wide-open battle in the Republican primary. Though five GOP candidates are running, the race is really a three-way contest between attorney Kellogg and Garden Grove city councilmen Chung and Maddox. Each enjoys a base of support and key endorsements. Maddox is Pringle's hand-picked choice, a first-term councilman and Tustin police officer. He's managed to raise some cash and will be helped out along the way by Pringle. Normally, an endorsement from the incumbent might be enough to make Maddox the front-runner, except that Kellogg has Assemblymen Jim Morrissey and Scott Baugh and Senator Rob Hurtt in his corner. Hurtt's endorsement is an especially big feather in Kellogg's hat, considering Hurtt's reputation for dropping money into campaigns. On his own, Kellogg has raised \$80,000 so far, half of which came from him or his family. Kellogg also has the College Republicans and a local gun owners' group helping to walk precincts. Then there's Chung, a Korean-born businessman and the first non-white member of the Garden Grove council. He has racked up endorsements from locally elected officials, including three members of the Orange County Board of Supervisors. He also has support from

the area's growing Asian community, which now makes up nearly 20 percent of the district. The other two GOP candidates are Neugebauer, a councilwoman and mayor pro tempore of Westminster, who has no money or endorsements, and businessman Gonzalez, who has yet to surface.



District 69 (52% D - 33% R) —

Democrat: Lou Correa of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Jim Morrissey of Anaheim. Libertarian: Bolynda Schultz of Santa Ana. Reform: Jim Benson of Anaheim.

Democrats are still kicking themselves for not helping Correa more in 1996, when he missed knocking off Morrissey by only 93 votes. They did pour some money late into the campaign, but it wasn't enough to offset the incumbent's \$200,000 advantage. That mistake will not be repeated this year, Democrats have vowed. Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa already has declared Morrissey at the top of his caucus' hit list. This district overlaps with the 46th Congressional District where Democratic incumbent Loretta Sanchez will be a top target herself and where former Representative Bob Dornan is in the primary, gurgling over a potential rematch with Sanchez.

District 70 (29% D - 54% R) —

Republican: Incumbent Marilyn Brewer of Newport Beach. Natural Law: Nat Adam of Irvine.

Brewer's re-election is a natural.

District 71 (27% D - 57% R) —

Democrat: Martha Badger of Rancho Santa Margarita. Republican: Incumbent Bill Campbell of Orange. Natural Law: Brenda Bryant of Santa Ana.

Most Republican district this side of Arizona.

District 72 (31% D - 54% R) —

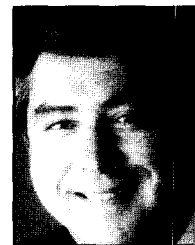
Democrat: Frank Legas of Fullerton. Republican: Incumbent Dick Ackerman of Fullerton. Libertarian: Loren Meierding of Fullerton.

This time, at least, Ackerman may have to post a few signs on some lawns, maybe make an appearance or two at a local supermarket during his re-election campaign. Last time around, he didn't have an opponent.



District 73 (29% D - 52% R) —

Democrat: Robert Wilberg of Capistrano Beach. Republicans: Steve



Apodaca



Bates

Apodaca of San Clemente, Patricia Bates and Jim Lacy of Laguna Niguel. Libertarian: Donald Rollins of Oceanside. Natural Law: Matteo Ornati of Dana Point.



Lacy

Another open Republican seat featuring a three-way battle for the nomination. The district is almost evenly split between southern Orange County and San Diego County, including Camp Pendleton, and where incumbent Bill Morrow is termed out and running for the Senate. He's also keeping his nose out of the primary. That leaves Laguna Niguel Mayor Bates, tax attorney Lacy and San Clemente Councilman Apodaca to slug it out. Bates enjoys the support of local legislators, including senators Bill Craven and Ross Johnson and Assembly members Bill Campbell, Marilyn Brewer and Dick Ackerman. She was also the first to get her absentee mailer out and had raised almost \$100,000 by the end of the first reporting period. Lacy is well-connected with the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, having served as an aide to Jarvis during the Proposition 13 campaign. In fact, he originally had as his ballot designation "taxpayer representative," but a judge forced him to change it; he now lists himself as a "small business owner." Lacy previously worked in both the Reagan and Bush administrations before running unsuccessfully for Congress in 1992, finishing third to Jay Kim in the CD 41 GOP primary. His endorsements include many of the Legislature's most conservative members — assemblymen Howard Kaloogian, Tom McClintock, Steve Baldwin and senators Ray Haynes and Richard Mountjoy. National conservative darling Oliver North also is backing Lacy, having appeared at a fund raiser and taped some radio spots that have aired in the San Diego County portion of the district. Of the \$100,000 Lacy has

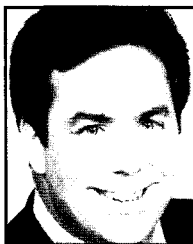
raised, \$20,000) is from his own pocket. He's also hit the district with two mailers so far. Apodaca, meanwhile, is behind the other two in mail, money and legislative endorsements. He does, however, have a long list of mayoral and city council endorsements, including two members of the Orange County Board of Supervisors. A self-described fiscal conservative, Apodaca is the only pro-choice candidate among the three, a characteristic he is downplaying in the conservative district.

District 74 (31% D - 49% R) —
Democrats: William Fitzgerald of Solano Beach, Anne Fragasso of Leucadia. Republican: Incumbent Howard Kaloogian of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Aditi Gentsch of Del Mar.

For the past two elections, Republican Kaloogian has been plagued by the Clayton family. Fred Clayton lost a bitter, nasty, negative campaign to him in the 1994 primary, and as a result, Clayton and his wife teamed Kaloogian in 1996 — his wife in the primary and Fred as an independent in the general. This year, Fred Clayton is running for the Board of Equalization.

District 75 (30% D - 51% R) —
Democrat: David Debus of San Diego. Republicans: Joel Anderson of Alpine, Mark Price of Alpine, Charlene Zettel of Poway. Natural Law: William Cowling III of San Diego. Libertarian: Donna Tello of Poway.

The race to succeed term-ed-out Republican Jan Goldsmith has attracted a trio of GOP candidates with the resources and backing to win the primary — and, therefore, the seat. Anderson is the most conservative of the group — pro-life, pro-Second Amendment, pro-death penalty, pro-three strikes, pro-vouchers. As a result, he's earned endorsements from Senator Ray Haynes, assemblymen Howard Kaloogian, Bruce Thompson and Bill Morrow, the Gun Owners of California, Paul Gann's Citizens Committee, former California Republican Assembly prez John Fleishmann and the California Pro-Life Council. He was recruited to run by Assemblyman Steve Baldwin from the neighboring 77th District. He also has been endorsed by the Building Industry Association. Although he has professional campaign help, Anderson himself has plenty of expertise — a direct-mail business that specializes in



Price



Zettel

absentee-ballot programs. His campaign expects to raise about \$200,000 for the primary although he reported having raised only \$26,000 by mid-March, most of it from his own pocket. His fund raising picked up after the reporting period, however, and he had about \$75,000 on hand by early April. This is his first run for elective office. Zettel sits on the other end of the GOP political spectrum. A self-described fiscal conservative, she is pro-choice on abortion and has focused her campaign on education. She is the only elected official in the field, having served two terms on the Poway Unified School Board. That provides a solid base, given that the school district includes about 60 percent of the district's likely voters. In her most recent election — 1996 — she was the top vote-getter. Money is not a problem for Zettel, who already has plunked \$50,000 of her own into the race and promises to dig deeper if necessary, although she showed decent fund raising as well by reporting a total of \$108,000 by mid-March. And then there is Price, who has opened his wallet the widest. He's donated \$150,000 to the effort and plans to spend it on an absentee-ballot campaign, radio ads and direct mail. Price is perhaps the best known of the three Republicans thanks to a self-funded series of radio commentaries that have aired on local stations for several months and which ran during two popular talk shows — Roger Hedgecock and Rush Limbaugh. Price, too, is a conservative and recently gained the endorsement of the California Republican Assembly. As a result, he and Anderson could split the conservative vote, giving the more moderate Zettel — with her wide name recognition and education background — an opening. The district itself is one of the more conservative in the San Diego area, an advantage for the more well-known Price. Look for this primary to go negative early, especially as Anderson and Price jockey on the right.



District 76 (41% D - 38% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Susan Davis. Republicans: Duane Admire, Linda Escher-Davis. Libertarian: Edward Teyssier. All of San Diego.



Admire



Escher-Davis

This is one of those San Diego districts that galls Republicans. Registration figures indicate they ought to be able to win it — or at least be competitive. But for the past two elections, incumbent Davis has more than held her own against an opponent — Bob Trettin — considered too conservative for the district. In 1994, Davis beat Trettin by 3,500 votes in what was then an open seat. In '96, however, she increased that margin to 11,000 votes. Exit Bob Trettin. Enter a pair of Republicans — Escher-Davis, a nurse, and Admire, an attorney — for what already has become a nasty primary. Admire inherits Trettin's conservative cloak, having earned an endorsement from the Conservative Opportunity Society. He also expects nods from the California Republican Assembly and California Pro-Life Council. He is making his first run for elective office and has reported raising \$62,000 by mid-March, almost all of it from his own pocket and from family and friends. Admire, whose wife is an eye doctor and who owns optometry clinics, claims that some local party leaders tried to pressure him out of the race in favor of Escher-Davis because she has the same last name as the incumbent. Likely those local officials wanted Escher-Davis because they knew her, and because they wanted a woman on the ballot to face Davis. Escher-Davis has long been involved with district politics as a member of the local Lincoln and Republican Federated Women clubs. With a master's degree in nursing and a pro-choice view of abortion, she has crossover appeal for both the primary and general election. Although her campaign treasury boasted only \$22,000 as of mid-March, she expects to raise the \$100,000 she says will be needed for the primary. She's gained the backing of the Lincoln Club, as well as endorsements from

local elected officials such as Randy Cunningham, Howard Kaloogian, Brian Bilbray, Bill Morrow and Byron Ware. As for the tone, both sides are hurling charges. Escher-Davis is accusing Admire of fronting for trial lawyers. Admire, on the other hand, tried to brand Escher-Davis as a carpetbagger because she was born and educated outside California. Unfortunately for Admire, Escher-Davis has lived in the 77th District for 15 years, while Admire, who hails from the San Francisco Bay area, has lived there less than one year.

District 77 (39% D - 42% R) —
Democrat: Margaret Carlson of El Cajon. Republican: Incumbent Steve Baldwin of El Cajon. Libertarians: Michael Metti of El Cajon, Elizabeth Meyers of San Diego.

Republican Baldwin first won this seat in 1994 by knocking off an incumbent Democrat — Tom Connolly — who was weighted down with legal baggage. In the process, Baldwin overcame his own baggage — including a claim uttered in an unsuccessful 1992 Assembly bid that the U.S. Air Force had an “official witch.”

District 78 (38% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Howard Wayne of San Diego. Republicans: Jean Roesch of Coronado, Myke Shelby of San Diego, Rick Wildman of La Jolla. Natural Law: Stuart Knoles of San Diego. Libertarian: John Murphy of San Diego.

This is another of those San Diego districts that cause Republicans to buy Maalox by the case. Registration puts it squarely in their column, but for the 1990s — and a good chunk of the 1980s



Wayne



Roesch



Shelby



Wildman

as well — voters have put the district squarely in the Democratic column. Senator Dede Alpert held the seat from 1990 to 1996, when she was succeeded by Wayne, who defeated former GOP Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter. Wayne now must defend the seat, and he's drawn as diverse a set of GOP wannabes as can be imagined: a moderate school board member, a conservative Jewish “biker” known as “New York Myke,” and a very conservative lawyer whose brother already sits in the Assembly — as a Democrat. The school board member is Roesch, who's served on the Coronado Unified School District Board for the past decade. A school counselor, Roesch is pro-choice and has made education her focus. She reported \$53,000 in the bank in March, but more than half of it came from her own pocket. She's paying her way onto some slate mailers and plans an absentee-ballot program to augment precinct walking and some cable TV ads. Although well known in her home base, Coronado encompasses less than 20 percent of the district, and Roesch must work hard to expand her name ID. That's not a problem for “New York Myke,” who as Myke Shelby owns the area's largest Harley Davidson dealership. As the name suggests, he's a New York City transplant, although he has lived in San Diego for a dozen years. A conservative, he's running a “get government out of the way” campaign. He reported \$25,000 for the first period, most of it his own money, although he indicates he won't seed the campaign with much more if a fund-raising effort falls short. He's spent on a mailer zipped into 221,000 homes on April 15th and on a radio ad campaign that appeals for

donations. He's been endorsed by a pair of assemblymen — Howard Kaloogian and Bill Morrow. The third Republican is attorney Wildman, regarded as the most conservative candidate. He is pro-life and opposed to most forms of gun control, including the assault weapon ban. The brother of Democratic Assemblyman Scott Wildman of Glendale, Rick Wildman has twice run unsuccessfully for public office, neither time as a Republican. He ran as a Democrat against GOP Assemblywoman Sunny Mojonier back in 1984, losing by some 60,000 votes. He also finished well out of the money in a 1992 race for San Diego County supervisor. His early fund-raising efforts this time have consisted mostly of opening his wallet and fishing out \$18,000 in loans, although he raised an additional \$16,000 in early April. He has yet to attract any major endorsements. Going in, Roesch would seem to have several early advantages. First, she has a track record at the polls, which gives her something of a base, albeit a small one. Second, she is both a moderate and a woman, and voters in this part of San Diego have shown a propensity over the years to favor moderate women over conservative men. In a new era of the blanket primary, Roesch may be able to appeal to the district's sizeable bloc of independent voters now eligible to vote in the primary. That having been said, the GOP contest likely will hinge on money — who has it to spend and when.

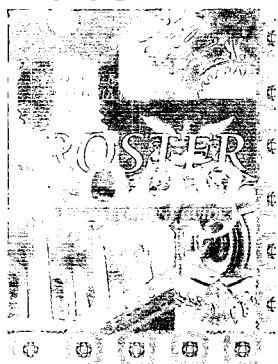
District 79 (54% D - 24% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Denise Ducheny of San Diego. Republican: Carl Kinz of Chula Vista. Libertarian: Richard Cardulla of San Diego.

A final turn around the Assembly block for Ducheny, chairwoman of the budget committee.

District 80 (46% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Joey Acuna Jr. of Coachella. Republican: Incumbent Jim Battin of La Quinta. Libertarian: Susan Weber of Palm Desert.

Republican Battin earned a slap from the FPPC for taking gifts from lobbyists, but Democrats will have to feel very, very confident — and be rolling in dough — before going after this seat. Still, Democrats held this seat until Battin was elected in 1994 and may take a hard look at Acuna, a school-board trustee from Coachella. 🏠

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State Bar in

The organization that disciplines and educates the state's lawyers faces bankruptcy and worse after a disgruntled Governor Pete Wilson vetoed the bill that mandates its dues. The veto got the State Bar's attention as it struggles to reform itself.

By Bill Ainsworth

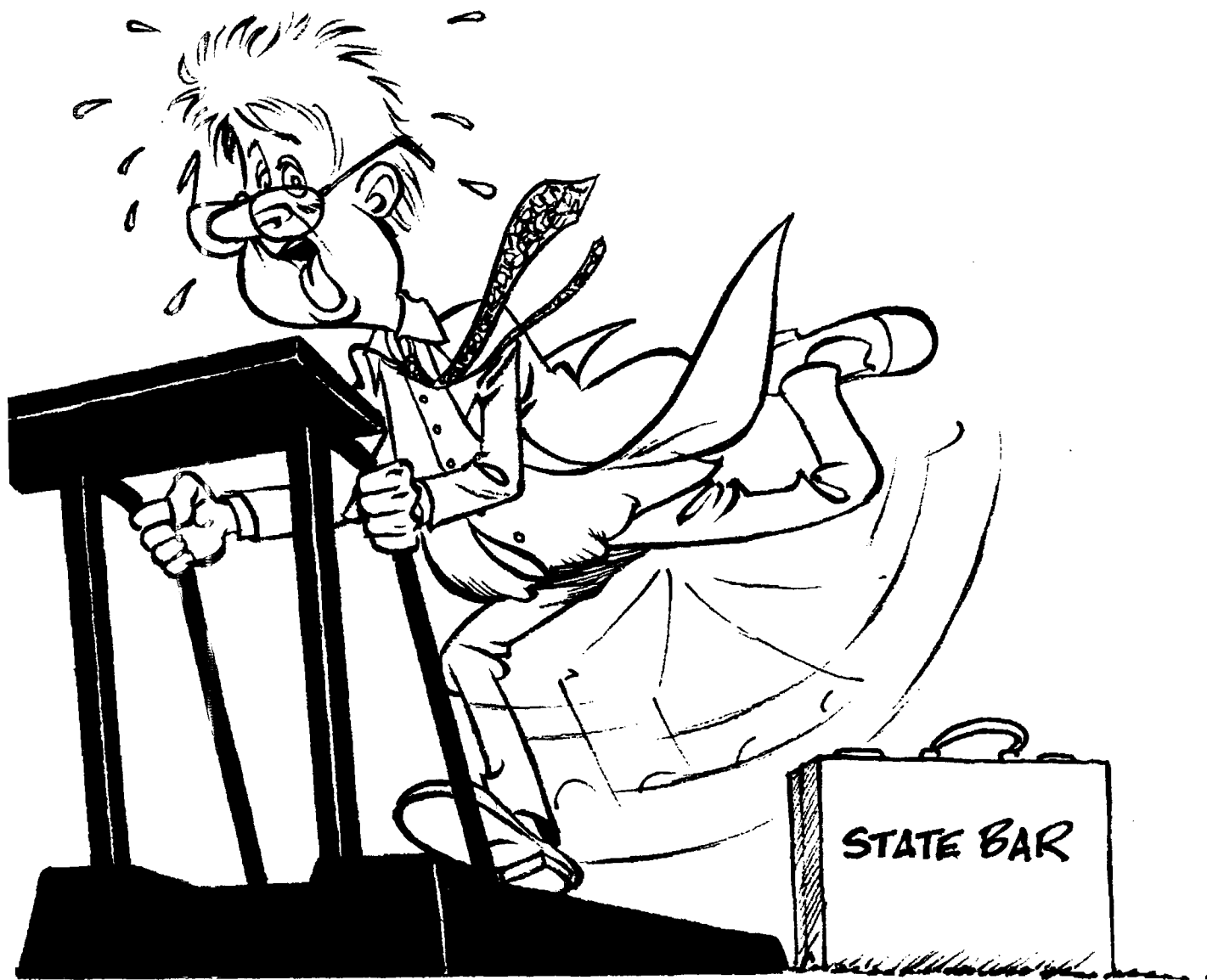


In a world populated with lawyer-bashers, Kathy Olsen seems a most unlikely cause of the State Bar's financial crisis. Olsen has never been sued. She doesn't dislike lawyers and she has nothing against the agency that regulates the legal profession. But Olsen, as much as any one person, may have put in jeopardy the organization that promotes, educates, disciplines and admits the state's 123,000 practicing lawyers.

Olsen, whose son was left blind and brain-damaged by a case of medical malpractice, argued last year that the State Bar should support a bill that would raise the cap on pain and

Bill Ainsworth is a Capitol reporter for the San Diego Union Tribune.

crisis



suffering in malpractice cases above the \$250,000 limit imposed in 1975. A jury awarded her son, Steven, \$7 million for the lifetime of pain that a misdiagnosis of a brain abscess caused him when he was two years old. But the law, aimed at keeping malpractice premiums low, required a San Diego County judge to knock the award down to \$250,000.

"He can't see. He's got permanent brain damage. It's atrocious," said Olsen, a Chula Vista resident and former department store manager.

Bar leaders agreed. They voted to support legislation that would raise the non-economic awards imposed by the Medical Injury Compensation Reform Act above \$250,000.

It was a decision that would come back to haunt them.

Last October, Governor Pete Wilson cited the bar's position on the medical malpractice legislation as one of the

main reasons he was vetoing the annual State Bar dues bill. With the stroke of a pen, Wilson left the bar with no means of charging lawyers the fees that account for the bar's budget, creating a financial crisis for the organization and opening up a spirited debate over how best to regulate attorneys.

The law creating the bar gave lawmakers the power to approve the amount of dues charged each year. Without legislation, the bar can charge attorneys only \$77 of the \$458 fee it was expecting. Consequently, the bar is scheduled to go broke and lay off most of its 800 employees in June. The consequences of the crisis go beyond attorneys. The bar investigates consumer complaints, regulates lawyer referral services, operates a fund that can be tapped by clients who have been cheated by their lawyers and contributes \$10 million each year to legal services for the poor.

"If the system shuts down this spring, who will victimized consumers call? The governor? the Legislature?" asks Assemblyman Robert Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks).

Hertzberg is carrying one of three bills spawned by the State Bar funding crisis. His AB 1669 would scale back the bar's dues and its duties. But the cuts wouldn't be as drastic as legislation by Assemblyman Bill Morrow (R-Oceanside), which would leave the bar as little more than a lawyer discipline agency. State Senator Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco), an attorney, would go even further. A long-time opponent of the mandatory bar, Kopp's legislation would abolish the bar and transfer its regulatory functions to the Administrative Office of the Courts. All three bills are aimed at satisfying the wishes of Wilson.

Although he's a lawyer, Wilson has often been critical of the legal profession. In his annual State of the State speech in 1997, Wilson called a lawyer's briefcase a "weapon of terror." Since taking office in 1991, he's been in a continual battle with the plaintiffs' attorneys group, now called the Consumer Attorneys of California.

Each year, this powerful lobby has used its clout in the Democrat-controlled Legislature to block Wilson's tort-reform program, a series of bills aimed at making it more difficult to file personal injury suits and win damage awards. Wilson argues that the cost of defending frivolous lawsuits is so high that it harms the state's business climate. Last year, when the State Bar joined the plaintiffs' attorneys' effort to raise medical malpractice limits, Wilson was outraged.

The bar's board of governors argued that they were justified in getting involved in one of the hottest political issues in the Legislature because the limits affected the legal profession. The bar's endorsement had little political impact. A strong coalition of doctors, insurers and business groups defeated the bill soundly. They argued that economic damages in medical malpractice cases are not limited — just non-economic "pain and suffering" damages.

"There's no question that was the biggest issue for the governor," said Hertzberg.

It wasn't the only issue. Wilson was irritated that a bar committee that ranks judicial candidates rated as "unqualified" his latest pick for the California State Supreme Court, Janice Rogers Brown. Moreover, the bar's conference of delegates, a kind of lawyer legislature, had passed resolutions endorsing same-sex marriages and applauding affirmative action.

Finally, there was the matter of lobbying payments.

Last year, the bar signed a contract paying lobbyist Mel Assagai \$450,000 a year — an exceptionally large amount by Sacramento standards — for limited lobbying duties. On top of that, the bar included an illegal \$75,000 bonus in the contract, which prompted the Fair Political Practices Commission to slap Assagai with a \$2,000 fine.

In his angry veto message, Wilson called the bar "bloated, arrogant, oblivious and unresponsive." In a December interview, Wilson said that vetoing the bar dues bill was one of the most popular actions he's ever taken as governor. Ordinary lawyers, he said, often stop him in airports to congratulate him.

Hertzberg, who has become the bar's chief defender in the Legislature, admits the bar is sometimes its own worst

enemy. "The bar has credibility problems," he said. "Historically, lawyers have been arrogant in their approach to the Legislature."

Last year, for example, Morrow and other bar critics sought a \$20-a-year dues reduction, which would have amounted to about 5 percent. Bar officials argued that such a reduction would cause grave harm to its program. With the bar now fighting for its life, last year's request seems positively benign. "There's no question that, if they had taken the \$20 dues cut last year, we wouldn't be here," said Hertzberg.

So far, the bar has had more success rallying support outside the Capitol. In 1996, the Legislature forced the bar to conduct a vote among all its members on the bar's future. Attorneys voted by a two-to-one ratio to continue the bar.

Large corporate law firms have also answered State Bar President Marc Adelman's request for money. Many of them have agreed to pay voluntarily the amount of dues the bar had expected to charge. James Seff, a partner in the San Francisco firm of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro, said his firm decided to pay dues voluntarily because it backs the bar's efforts to improve the legal profession by educating attorneys, encouraging diversity and funding legal services for the poor. "We believe the organized bar is a good thing for the community and the profession," said Seff. "It helps improve the practice of law."

Hertzberg and Adelman, a San Diego civil litigator, have set out to prove to lawmakers that the bar is serious about changing. "We can do a better job," Adelman said. "We have new leadership that's vowed to be more efficient."

Hertzberg's legislation would delegate some of the bar's current functions — such as the conference of delegates — to a voluntary group. It would also cut annual dues by 10 percent and significantly limit the bar's lobbying activities. But it doesn't go far enough for Republicans. They believe his bill would still allow the bar to take legislative positions that its members disagree with. That's unfair, they contend, because membership in the bar is mandatory, not voluntary.

"We don't have a problem with the administration of justice," said Assemblyman Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside), a lawyer. "We have a problem with an organization that takes political positions we disagree with and uses our dues."

Republicans also object to a bar program that uses interest on the trust funds administered by lawyers to fund legal clinics for the poor, arguing that it's unfair to make clients pay for these services. In addition to cutting legal aid, Morrow's bill would eliminate the "client security fund." As part of their dues, attorneys pay \$40 a year into the fund, which reimburses clients who can show that their attorneys cheated them out of money.

Morrow and Hertzberg are working on a compromise. But the bar faces a difficult task because it has to get a two-thirds vote in order to get access to the funds immediately. "If we accommodate people on the far right, we will lose people on the left," said Seff, a member of the bar's board of governors. "We're in a pickle."

Democrats support the bar's legal services program and its client security fund. Hertzberg said he won't vote for a bill that would eliminate those programs. But Morrow argues that time is on his side. "The State Bar is playing a game of political chicken," he said. "If they persist in delaying reform, their chicken may end up in the cook's pot." 🍗

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Friday, June 26, 1998

- Noon Registration opens
1:00pm Introduction and overview
1:15 **Strategy and message** development for candidate and issue campaigns: timing, sequence, attack, counter-attack, insulation, resource allocation, maximizing strengths and minimizing weaknesses of your position
4:00 Using the **internet** to win votes, raise money, recruit volunteers and mobilize citizen action for candidates and issues
5:15 Cash bar "meet and greet"

Saturday, June 27, 1998

Track #1: Candidate Campaigns

- 8:45 am Introduction
9:00 am The **First Steps** every smart candidate should take
10:00 **Raising money**: How to ask, follow-up, organize events
11:00 Getting **press coverage** in district and local races; using press releases, events and conferences, editorial board meetings, damage control
Noon Break
1:30 pm Making effective **speeches**
2:30 **Advertising**: How, when and where to use paid television, radio and newspaper ads
3:30 Persuasion **direct mail**: strategy, creative, processing
4:30 **Get out the vote**: Using polls, targeting, mail, phones, voter lists, database management and door-to-door canvassing to identify and turn out your supporters; absentees, vote-by-mail and election day activities
(general session for both tracks)

Track #2: Issue Campaigns

- 8:45 am Introduction
9:00 am Ballot issue tactics: **Lessons learned** from the trenches
10:00 **Raising money** for issue campaigns, advocacy efforts
11:00 Getting **press coverage** for issue advocacy and referendum campaigns; organizing speakers bureaus and public forums, debates, damage control
Noon Break
1:30 pm **Grassroots organizing** and support mobilization
2:30 **Advertising** in ballot issue campaigns: How and when to use television, radio and newspaper ads
3:30 **Signature gathering** and petition validation
4:30 **Get out the vote**: Using polls, targeting, mail, phones, voter lists, database management and door-to-door canvassing to identify and turn out your supporters; absentees, vote-by-mail, election day activities
(general session for both tracks)

Seminar participants have the option to select either an entire track or to "cherry pick" tracks session by session.

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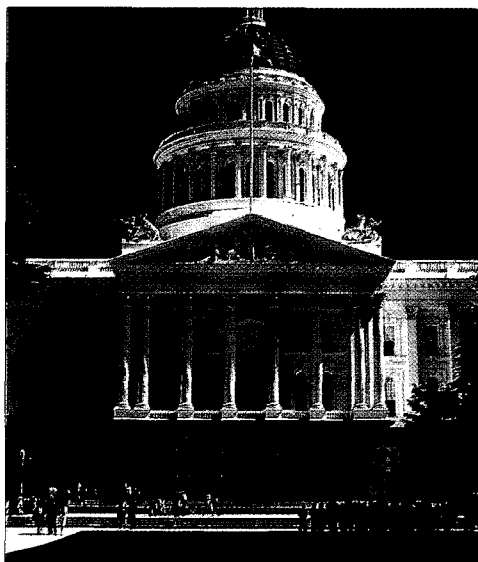
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208 days over federal ozone standard.	90* days over federal ozone standard.

Source: South Coast AQMD. *For 1996

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